Transactions

OF

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.	PAGE
The Progress of Biblical Archæology (Inaugural Address). By SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., President	1– 12
On an Ancient Eclipse. By HENRY FOX TALBOT, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.	13– 19
On an Hieroglyphic Tablet of Alexander, son of Alexander the Great, recently discovered at Cairo. By S. BIRCH, LL.D., &c. &c.	20– 27
Early History of Babylonia. By G. SMITH	28– 92
On the Date of the Nativity. By J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.	93–105
Note on the Religious Belief of the Assyrians. By H. FOX TALBOT, D.C.L., F.R.S.	106–115
On the Discovery of some Cypriote Inscriptions. By R. HAMILTON LANG, H.B.M. Consul at Cyprus	116–128
On the Reading of the Cypriote Inscriptions. By G. SMITH	129–144
Lettre au Tres-Révérend Doyen de Westminster sur le site de Capharnaum, de Khorazyn, et Beth-Sayda (Julias). By M. LE CHEV. DE SAULCY, Membre de l'Institut, &c., &c.	145–152
Cypriote Inscriptions.—On the Reading of the Inscription on the Bronze Plate of Dali [Idalium]. By SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., &c.	153–172
Hebræo-Ægyptiaca. Par F. CHABAS	173–182
Cyrus the Second.—Concerning Cyrus son of Cambyses king of Persia and of Mandane daughter of Astyages, who overthrew Babylon and released the Jews; as distinguished from Cyrus father of Cambyses, who conquered Astyages, and founded the Empire of the Medes and Persians. By J. W. BOSANQUET, F.R.A.S.	183–262
The Prideaux Pentateuch. Report upon the P. P. by DR. SCHILLER SZINESSY	263–270
A Fragment of Ancient Assyrian Mythology. By H F. TALBOT, D.C.L., F.R.S.	271–280
The Assyrian Verbs *Basu*, "To Be," *Qabah*, "To Say," and *Isu*, "To Have," identified as Variant Forms of Verbs having the same signification in the Hebrew Language. By RICHARD CULL, F.S.A.	281–293
The Origin of Semitic Civilisation, chiefly upon Philological Evidence. By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.	294–309
Jerusalem, an Introduction to its Archæology and Topography. By WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.	310–327
The New Moabite Stone.—An Examination of Mr. Henry Lumley's Letter to the "*Times*" on the Discovery of a New Moabite Stone. By B. G. JENKINS	328–334
Observations on Base-Length of Great Pyramid, and Royal Coffer's Dimensions. By S. M. DRACH, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.	335–338
On the *Mazzoroth* of Job xxxviii, 32. By H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S., &c.	339–342
The Use of Papyrus as a Writing Material among the Accadians. By REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.	343–345
A Prayer and a Vision: from the Annals of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. By H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S., &c.	346–348
Addition to the Paper on Eclipses, p. 13 of this Volume. By H. F. TALBOT, F.R.S., &c.	348–354
On the Political Condition of Egypt before the Reign of Ramses III; probably in connection with the establishment of the Jewish Religion. From the Great Harris Papyrus. By Dr. AUGUST EISENLOHR	355–384
Note on Universal Type-Numbers, and Pyramid Casing Stone. By S. M. DRACH, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.	385
Index to Vol. I.	i-xxxiv
List of Members.	

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. I. JANUARY, 1872. PART 1.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Publication of this, the First Part of its Proceedings, offers the best occasion whereon to state in a few words the circumstances which gave rise to the Society of Biblical Archæology, and the objects which it is formed to carry out.

On the 18th November, 1870, Dr. Birch of the British Museum, and Mr. Joseph Bonomi of the Soane Museum, invited a few gentlemen interested in the Antiquities and Philology of Egypt, Palestine, and Western Asia, to meet them at the private rooms of Mr. Bonomi, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to take into consideration the present state of Archæological research, and, if it appeared desirable, to institute an Association for directing the course of future investigations, and to preserve a record of materials already obtained, an Association whose special objects should be, "to collect from the fast perishing monuments of the Semitic "and cognate races illustrations of their history and pecu- "liarities; to investigate and systematize the Antiquities of "the ancient and mighty empires and primeval peoples

" whose records are centered around the venerable pages of " the Bible. In other words, an Association to bring into " connexion the labours of individual scholars, and to utilize " the results of private enterprize and national munificence— " to accumulate data, and to preserve facts—to give a voice " to the past, a new life to the future, and assistance, pub- " licity, and permanence to the efforts of all students in " Biblical Archæology."

The need of such a Society as it was then proposed to institute was inferred from the facts that existing Societies were employed in the study of one special science, or group of sciences, in which Biblical Archæology had only an interpolated position; and, that Biblical researches had of late so far outgrown the limits of an occasional paper, or ordinary meeting, and had resolved themselves into so many distinct branches of detail, that the subject required to be treated as a whole. Yet, at the same time, as the Asiatic, Geographical, Literary, and Palestine Societies had cognate pursuits, it might be expected that they would fraternize and co-operate with the proposed Association.

The issue of the conference was, that a Public Meeting was convened at the Rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, on the 9th of December ensuing, and at that Meeting, Dr. Birch being in the chair, supported by Messrs. Boyle, Drach, Mills, Smith, and other gentlemen, the following Resolutions were proposed, and carried unanimously:—

" I. That a Society be initiated, having for its objects " the investigation of the Archæology, Chronology, " Geography, and History, of Ancient and Modern " Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, and other Biblical " Lands, the promotion of the study of the Antiquities " of those countries, and the preservation of a con- " tinuous record of discoveries, now or hereafter to be " in progress.

"II. That the said Society shall be called THE SOCIETY "OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

"III. That the following gentlemen be requested to "form a Provisional Council, to prepare the Laws, "and generally to conduct the preliminary business "of the Society:—

"W. F. AINSWORTH, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
"S. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.
"W. R. A. BOYLE, ESQ.
"JOSEPH BONOMI, ESQ., F.R.S.L.
"J. W. BOSANQUET, ESQ., F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.
"REV. CANON COOK, M.A.
"T. CHRISTY, JUN., ESQ.
"E. DEUTSCH, ESQ., F.R.S.L.
"S. M. DRACH, ESQ., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.
"S. HEYWOOD, ESQ., M.A.
"REV. J. GRIGG HEWLET, D.D.
"REV. A. MOZLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L.
"REV. JOHN MILLS, F.R.G.S.
"REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.
"SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
"REV. G. SMALL, M.A.
"W. H. FOX TALBOT, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S.

"W. R. COOPER, *Secretary*."

Thus this Society was established, and since that Meeting its ranks have been swelled by the addition of nearly all the leading Archæologists and others interested in Biblical researches of England and the Continent. Their labours, and those of their coadjutors, will henceforth appear in the Transactions, of which the present serial forms the first part—labours which will be directed, not to defend systems or to destroy theories, but to elicit facts from which scientific writers may freely deduct their own inferences, for subsequent examination to controvert or confirm. It now only remains for the Secretary to state that by the liberality of the authors of certain papers,—as Mr. Bosanquet and Mr. H. Fox Talbot,—and of a few individual Members, as Mr. Samuel

Sharpe and the President, the expenses, necessarily heavy, of the present publication have been defrayed; and further, that there is probably no instance, or but one, of a similarly young Society having attained, in the short space of thirteen months, so satisfactory, so definite, and so promising a position.

THE

PROGRESS OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY:

AN ADDRESS

Read before the Society of Biblical Archæology, on the 21*st of March*, 1871.

By Samuel Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., &c.

The study of Oriental literature, philology, and history, and the progress of the interpretation of inscriptions hitherto unknown, have made great strides within the last fifty years. They have so important a bearing on Biblical archæology, and such an intimate connection exists between the study of Biblical literature and the advance made in the decipherment and interpretation of Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, and other cognate Semitic monuments, that the time has at length come when a Society like the present is required. Its scope will be to diffuse a knowledge of the efforts that have been made by scholars in the different branches of Semitic archæology, not only in relation to Biblical subjects, but also to the wider history of those great nations of Central Asia which played so important a part in the early history of civilization, and are so interlinked with the history and traditions of Western Europe. Hitherto our knowledge of these nations has principally been derived from the records of the sacred Scriptures, and the early Greek writers who have handed down such portions as entered into relation with their own histories. At the present day, owing to the researches and excavations which have brought to light a buried world, we are able to ascend into the remotest times of antiquity, and to examine the contemporaneous monuments of these great nations—the identical monuments made in the days of Cheops and Urukh—and to test the information they afford by what is known from the pages of the sacred Volume, and the Greek and Roman historians.

The first great stride made in this path was in Egyptian research. Egypt was the first ancient land rediscovered in modern times; its antiquities and monuments were the first examined by scholars and men of letters. No real advance could, however, be made till the ancient language of the hieroglyphs was able to be interpreted. It is here necessary to recollect that philology is the handmaid of history, and that the truth of history depends on the accuracy of philological inquiries. In the decipherment of an unknown language, all depends upon the standpoint, and the care with which the induction is made. The language once interpreted, the historical results follow as a matter of course. In the success which attended the efforts of the first inquirers to interpret the hitherto occult monuments of Egypt lay the failure or success of determining the chronology and history; the struggle was over the hieroglyphy, the spoil was the solution of the historical problem. It was then discovered that the Egyptians were not only a most highly civilised and most ancient people, but that their history was of the highest importance for the study of Biblical archæology. The discoveries of Champollion proved that the conquest of the Jews by Shishak had been recorded in the temples of Thebes, and that the names of the towns subjected to his arms in Judæa had been inscribed on the walls of the great temple of Ammon. Those of the school of Champollion who have continued the research, have thrown additional light on the relations between the Jews and the Egyptians, and M. Chabas has discovered, in the hieratic papyri of the Museum of Leyden, the existence of the Hebrews in Egypt in the days of Rameses II, and a subsequent notice of them under a later monarch of the same line of Ramessids on the rocks of El Hamamat. It is under the 19th and 20th dynasties that the influence of the Aramæan nations is distinctly marked; and, not only by blood and alliances had the Pharaohs been closely united with the princes of Palestine and Syria, but the language of the period abounds in Semitic words quite different from the Egyptian with which they were embroidered and intermingled. These points have an important bearing on the contested point of the period of the exode of the

Hebrews. . So important have been those studies of the synchronistic history of the two nations, that it will be impossible hereafter to adequately illustrate the history of the Old Testament without referring to the contemporaneous monuments of Egypt; and not alone the history, but the laws, institutions, and even turns of thought and expression, have many points of resemblance in the two nations. It is wonderful, all things considered, that the Hebrews have not taken more from Egyptian sources than they did, not that they were so much imbued with Egyptian ideas.

Assyria has been still more prolific in monuments having historical and other information relative to the history of the Old Testament. Turning to it and the other rivals of Egypt in the most remote times, Babylonia, the cradle of Semitic civilization, stands prominent, as highly civilised and densely populated at a period when Egypt was still in its youthful prime. From Babylon are to be drawn important illustrations of the history of the Old Testament, and the discoveries of students and inquirers into the cuneiform have won valuable information from the evidence of the inscriptions. The brilliant discoveries of Sir H. Rawlinson, followed up by those of MM. Oppert and Menant, Mr. Norris and Mr. G. Smith, have restored much of the early history of Babylonia. They have discovered the names of many ancient kings—amongst others the Chedorlaomer, or his successor, of the days of Abraham—and been able to identify many of the sites of ancient cities of Babylonia, the names of which are household words, such as Ur of the Chaldees, the birthplace of Abraham and cradle of the Hebrew race, and Erech, founded by Nimrod. Babel has of course been discovered, Borsippa, Nineveh, Calah and other sites identified, and many of the traditions point to the diluvian and antediluvian records of the two great Semitic races. If the monuments necessary for the elucidation of the early contemporaneous history of Babylonia are scanty, such is not the case with those of Assyria, of which many historical remains, from their being composed of *terra cotta*, have survived the destructive fury of fire and sword, and the cupidity or malice of conquerors. Descending the stream of history, the oldest Assyrian historical monument

has been translated by four different scholars, which is the cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser, B.C. 1120, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Subsequent to that period, and in the reign of Shalmaneser, the Jewish kings Omri, Ahab, Jehu, and the Assyrian monarchs Benhadad and Hazael, are mentioned in the annals of his reign, about B.C. 850, as conquered or tributary to the empire of Assyria. Under the successor of Shalmaneser, Vulnirari, Assyria not only conquered the land of Omri, or Samaria and Edom, but extended its conquests over Syria and Damascus in the half century subsequent to the time of Shalmaneser. Under the next monarch of Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser II, illustrations of the history of the Old Testament continue to increase, and mention is found in the inscriptions of Azariah, Menahem, Pekah, Hoshea, and Rezin king of Damascus, with whom the Assyrian monarch carried on war. All these, be it recollected, are mentioned on contemporaneous monuments, B.C. 750. We have thus important illustrations of events hitherto known from other sources, which the Assyrian monuments either confirm, or on which they shed a brighter light by the details which they give of the wars from the cuneiform history and archives. As the page of history is unrolled, the annals of Sargon, about B.C. 720, record the conquest of Samaria, and the capture of the city of Ashdod, mentioned by the prophet Isaiah. Some remarkable historical cylinders in the British Museum contain the annals of Sennacherib, his expedition against Jerusalem, and the events of the reign of Hezekiah, the tribute exacted by the conqueror from the king of Israel, with all the details of the troops employed for the invasion of Palestine. These events bring the contemporaneous monumental history down to the 7th century B.C.; and soon after, under the reign of his successor Esarhaddon, about B.C. 680, the Assyrian inscriptions contain an important notice of Manasseh king of Judah. The successor of Esarhaddon was Asshurbanipal, the Sardanapalus of the classical writers, the greatest of the Assyrian monarchs, for his conquests extended beyond Palestine; he added Egypt to the dependencies of Assyria, and defeated the Ethiopian monarch Tirhakah. Besides historical results,

some important discoveries have been made in philology; for not only have the grammar and dictionary been eliminated, but the existence of a second language contemporaneous with the Assyrian, and called, for want of a more definite nomenclature, the Akkad, has been discovered. This language has been referred to the Turanian rather than the Semitic family, but its affiliation is obscure, Surely these are astounding results, liberal contributions to Biblical archæology, an ample tribute to historical truth won in the last thirty years by the genius and industry of Assyrian scholars from the monuments of Assyria. Could any thing cause the formation of such a Society as the present, these facts should do so,—dug out of the plains of Mesopotamia, rising as witnesses to corroborate or enlarge the history of Central Asia. They ought to rally round the Society all who take an interest in the comparative study of Biblical history.

To this portion of the subject belongs the end of the Assyrian empire under the last monarch Assur-ebil-ili, when the scene of history shifts once more to the monuments of the revived or second empire of Babylonia. It is much to be regretted that, although full information has been thus obtained of the general history of Assyria, which can be traced from 1120 to 630 B.C., yet up to the present moment there is a great deficiency in the contemporary history of Babylonia as derived from the monuments. As the excavations of MM. Layard, Rassam, Loftus, and Sir H. C. Rawlinson exhumed the remains of the great archival library of Asshurbanipal at Kouyunjik, consisting of more than 20,000 fragments, many of which have been put together by archæologists and scholars, and give a general idea of the literature and history of Assyria: so it may be hoped that, at a future period, the library of Nebuchadnezzar or some other monarch of his dynasty will be recovered. Then, and not till then, will be revealed, in its full extent, the more primitive civilisation and the older annals of the Babylonians; for of this early nation there are as yet no contemporaneous annals, although there is some material for the history of Nebuchadnezzar, who comes on the scene about B.C. 604.

after the fall of Nineveh. Many cylinders of that renowned monarch, whose name has passed into a household word, and is familiar to all, have indeed been found, yet notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of his name on numerous monuments, no contemporaneous annals of his reign have been discovered. Nebuchadnezzar was indeed a great religious restorer, more so even than a conqueror, and his inscriptions record the endowment of temples, their repairs, his pious offerings to the gods, but no historical facts. These are still to be searched for in the plains of Mesopotamia, and the day is probably not far distant when the interest excited by these studies in this country will renew excavations similar to those already mentioned, which were formerly made with such success on the sites of the cities of ancient Assyria. That they may be continued until they evolve the whole programme of the ancient civilization of mankind, and resolve the problem whether the civilization of the East started from the plains of Assyria or the valley of the Nile, will be the earnest desire of every student of early history.

It is true that these results have not been obtained without difficulties. There has been some conflict between Assyrian and Jewish history, and although Assyrian scholars, dealing with the special subject of Assyria, naturally lean with favour to the information the monuments of Nineveh afford, it is by no means sure that the Assyrians, especially in speaking of foreign nations, may not have recorded errors. As the research advances, the difficulty of reconciling the chronology of the Assyrians and the Jews will melt away before the additional monuments that may be obtained, or the more correct knowledge that may be acquired. There is nothing to alarm the exegetical critic in the slight discrepancies that always present themselves in the world's history when the same fact is differently recorded by the actors in some national struggle. For truth, the whole evidence is required, and the monuments of antiquity too often reach our hands as broken pieces of an imperfect puzzle. Is it, then, wonderful that the reconstruction should be embarrassing?

In Phœnicia the remains of many cities have been explored, and at Sidon the celebrated sarcophagus of the

monarch Asmunassar, who lived about B.C. 700, has been long discovered; and, although much of Phœnicia has been explored, more, without doubt, remains to be discovered in that ancient cradle of Semitic art, enterprise and commerce. The precision attained by the researches into the inscriptions of that country and the philology of the Phœnicians have played by no means an unimportant part in the study of Biblical archæology. The island of Cyprus, one of the earliest settlements of these people, has hitherto been comparatively overlooked; but the excavations at Dali or Idalium, and at Golgos, have produced many striking examples of Cypriote sculpture of all periods, from the Phœnician settlement to the Egyptian and Assyrian conquest and first Greek and Roman occupation of the island by its Greek and Roman conquerors. The people of Cyprus had a peculiar language, resembling in the character of its writing the ancient Lycian, and quite distinct from the Phœnician; but the discovery of portions of a bilingual inscription leads to the hope that the language may ultimately be deciphered.

From other parts of the world may be also expected hereafter many monuments illustrative of Biblical archæology, and of the old Semitic races. Mount Sinai has been explored. Within the last two years there has been an expedition to this all-interesting site by Captain Wilson, Mr. Palmer, and the Rev. Mr. Holland. They have found numerous inscriptions, and have re-investigated the sites of the mines of the Wady Magarah, the Sarabit El Khadim, and the Wady Mukatteb. These sites have an important connection with Old Testament history. The copies of inscriptions brought back by Mr. Palmer have been carefully examined. The site of Magarah and the Sarabit El Khadim were discovered by Niebuhr in 1750. Since then many a scientific pilgrimage has been performed to these venerable spots. Views and drawings of the sites and monuments have been published by the late De Laborde, Lottin de Laval, M. Lepsius, Bartlett, and others; and each has recorded the principal points and features of this part of the Arabian peninsula. But the last expedition took with it that

important aid, photography, and by its means the eye beholds, as in a necromantic mirror, the site and its inscriptions in their shadowy lineaments. The Wady Magarah is the most ancient mine in the world—here first the hand of man delved and plied the pick upon the rock, and traced with curious hand the blue mineral vein that traversed the mountain side. It is supposed by Egyptian scholars that the Egyptians were attracted to it in order to obtain the turquoise which runs in streaks through the primitive rocks of the locality. The Magarah was first opened by Senefru or Sephuris, a monarch of the 3rd dynasty, whose reign may be placed somewhere above B.C. 2000. From Senefru until the time of Amenemha III of the 12th dynasty, excavations continued to be carried on with greater or less success in the mines of the Magarah and the neighbouring valleys. After the Wady Magarah had been abandoned, in the 12th dynasty, the excavations were removed from thence to the Sarabit El Khadim. The Sarabit El Khadim commenced with the latter kings of the 12th dynasty, and was continued till Rameses IV, which is the name of the last king there found—a monarch of the 20th dynasty. The mines were then abandoned totally, and no later Pharaoh appears to have had either power or inclination to carry on the work. The Exodus of the Jews is supposed to have taken place under Menephtha, and some indications of this monarch have been discovered on the site of the Sarabit El Khadim in fragments of vases and other objects in use in the temple, and bearing his name. For here was the temple of Athor, the Egyptian Aphrodite or Venus, the mistress of the Mafka or Turquoise land, and of the copper which was thence derived, and over which she presided, even to the recent days of mediæval alchemists. With the inscriptions of the Wady Magarah and the Sarabit El Khadim is interwoven the narrative of the Exodus—for who was the Pharaoh of the period? may it not have taken place in a later age? Did the long procession defile along undisturbed and unheeded by the Egyptians of that site? The monuments of this spot are of the highest interest for Biblical archæology.

The inscriptions of the Wady Mokatteb have also long

occupied the attention of scholars. They have been attributed to the Nabathæans, the Israelites, and other nations that traversed the valleys of Sinai. An opinion has lately gained ground, that they may be of a comparatively recent period; but although attempts, more or less successful, have been made to interpret them, a complete and exhaustive research is still required finally to decide their meaning and fix their epoch. They have frequently been copied, but fresh researches continue to discover new ones in different spots. There are other parts of the East whence the Society of Biblical Archæology may expect interesting and important materials. One of these is Palestine, whence it is much to be regretted so few, if any, monuments have been obtained, which can be referred to the days of the Jewish monarchy—most of those hitherto discovered having inscriptions which do not date anterior to the Roman Empire. M. Clermont Ganneau, to whom is due the first publication of the Moabite Stone, has, however, discovered at Siloam elfokani,[1] at Jerusalem, an inscription in the Phœnician character, as old as the time of the kings. This is remarkable, because it is the first as yet discovered, with the exception of some obscure and doubtful marks on the foundation blocks of the Temple, supposed to be Phœnician numerals. The inscription is incised upon the walls of a rock chamber or chapel, apparently dedicated to Baal, who is mentioned on it. The discovery of this inscription by M. Ganneau will have an important bearing on the question of Hebrew palæography, and will aid to determine the date of the square Hebrew character, which has long been a subject of dispute. Some have assigned to the square character a date from the time of the Captivity, others have placed it much earlier. At all events, the inscription of Siloam shows that the curved or Phœnician character was in use in Jerusalem itself under the Hebrew monarchy, as well as in the conterminous Phœnicia, Moabitis, and the more distant Assyria. No monument indeed, of great antiquity, inscribed in the square character, has been found as yet older than the fifth century A.D., and the coins of the Maccabæan princes, as well as those of the revolter,

[1] Siloam the upper; the upper pool.

Bar Chochab, are impressed with Samaritan characters. The use of the Phœnician character on signets of the Jews in the days of the monarchy, also proves the national use of the Phœnician form of writing at the remoter period. Although the Greeks, by the introduction of vowels, completed the alphabet, its discovery is due to the Semitic races who made this important step in advance of the syllabaries in use amongst contemporaneous nations of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

There is another spot in this portion of the globe which is fertile in inscriptions, and that is Southern Arabia, the cradle of the Himyarites. Many inscriptions of this Semitic race on stone and bronze, from the dyke of Mareb and other places in the interior, are brought to Aden, and numerous copies have been already published by Fresnel, Osiander, Levy, Lenormant, and the British Museum. More will probably be found there. Unfortunately the date of the Himyaritic inscriptions has not been accurately determined, and more monuments are required for that purpose. If it is correct that M. Halevy, who was travelling in Southern Arabia on a mission from the French Institute, has returned to Paris with copies of 560 inscriptions taken *in situ*, dates will probably be obtained towards a more distinct knowledge of the age of these monuments. Lieutenant Prideaux, our assistant political resident in Aden, who takes a deep interest in this subject, has forwarded some Himyaritic inscriptions to the Museum, and is endeavouring to procure all he can in the way of obtaining further information about these monuments. The discovery of the Moabite Inscription shows the importance of Semitic monuments which may yet be discovered on the east of Palestine, and the necessity of exploring that portion of the country. Many new and valuable inscriptions have been discovered in the Hauran, and some of these will, in all probability, throw fresh light on the philology and history of Syria and Damascus. Public events have probably alone retarded the publication of these inscriptions, copies of which have been collected by M. Waddington and the Count de Vogüé. Inscriptions of a novel character have also been found in the neighbourhood of Hamath. Of these it

would be premature to give any opinion, but as inquirers and travellers will obtain copies of further specimens, it will be hereafter seen if they throw any important light upon the history of that portion of the East.

Fresh discoveries continue to be made on the old fields of Egypt. Even lately, an important tablet has been found at Cairo, dated in the seventh year of Alexander Aigos, of whom it states Ptolemy to have been the satrap. It records the dotation of the temple of Buto by the monarch, and mentions the former injury done to that temple by the usurper Xerxes, for so the Persian monarch is styled, while the legitimate king of Egypt is said to be Khabash, of whom there is no other notice except the dated coffin of one of the sacred Apis bulls in the Serapeum. Within the last few years, too, have been discovered the list of the kings of Egypt from Menes to Sethos I, inscribed on the walls of the temple of Abydos, and a similar, but less perfect list, in a tomb at Sakkarah, also giving a succession of the monarchs from the same period. Equally important, but in another sense, has been the discovery by M. Lepsius of the tablet of San, the so-called decree of Canopus, recording the honours paid by the synod of the priests to Ptolemy Euergetes I, on account of the benefits he had conferred on Egypt. This tablet, which, like the Rosetta stone, bears a triple inscription in hieroglyphic, Greek, and Demotic characters, is more important, from its preservation and contents, than the well-known key of Egyptian interpretation. Amongst other remarkable facts mentioned in the text, is the existence of a youthful Berenice, a mere child, invested with the attributes of royalty, and solemnly proclaimed as Queen by her parents, who prematurely died, and whose name has escaped the notice of the great historians. Still more interesting is the attempt there recorded to correct the calendar, the avowed disturbance of the wandering year having disturbed the proper time of celebrating the religious festivals. To remedy this, it was proposed (B.C. 238) to introduce the fixed year, and the leap year was accordingly instituted nearly two centuries before the correction of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, by aid of the astronomer Sosigenes.

These are only a few of the results to be expected from the study of the monuments of the great nations mentioned in the Bible. The new Society will be important to all who wish to examine the minute details of the various subjects, to perfect themselves in their knowledge, and to advance the study in which they are engaged. It deserves to be largely supported by the friends of Biblical archæology. It is to be hoped that its operations may be extended by the publication of its papers and other means co-ordinate with its public utility. Its scope is Archæology, not Theology; but to Theology it will prove an important aid. To all those it must be attractive who are interested in the primitive and early history of mankind; that history which is not written in books nor on paper, but upon rocks and stones, deep in the soil, far away in the desert; that history which is not to be found in the library or the mart, but which must be dug up in the valley of the Nile, or exhumed from the plains of Mesopotamia.

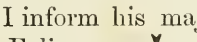
ON AN ANCIENT ECLIPSE.

By H. F. Talbot, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Read 4th April, 1871.

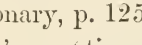
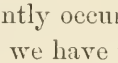
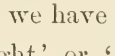
A Solar Eclipse, which seems to have occurred in the days of Assurbanipal, has hitherto been hardly noticed. I wish to draw attention to it as it may perchance prove valuable to Chronology.

I will first give a portion of the unpublished British Museum tablet 154, also marked 122 *b* (it formerly bore the mark K 131) which I noticed formerly in my Assyrian Glossary No. 98.

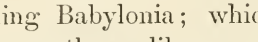
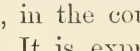
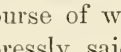
"To the King of the World my Lord! Thy servant Kukuru sends this. May Assur, the Sun, and Marduk be propitious to my lord the king! I inform his majesty that in the month of *Su* there was an Eclipse,  ." After this, the writing on the tablet is somewhat injured. But it again mentions "the eclipse which happened in the month of *Su*." (The Accadian name of the fourth month of the year was *Su* which I have here provisionally retained.)

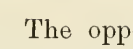
I now proceed to the consideration of a great solar eclipse which appears to have been visible in the country of Elam or Susiana in the reign of Assurbanipal, in the month of *Su*, and in a year of the reign which I believe admits of determination. I conjecture that this eclipse was the same as the one before mentioned, and if that one was observed by Kukuru at Nineveh, the path of the eclipse may be roughly sketched out, since it would be nearly parallel to a line drawn from Nineveh to Shushan, having been conspicuous seemingly at both places.

For the better intelligence of the passage I am about to quote, I must premise that *Musu* signifies 'Night,' and *Urru* signifies 'Day,' and these are put in

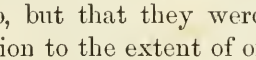
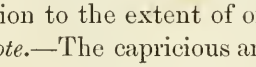
opposition to each other, as in the phrase *Urru musu akbud* 'I laboured day and night,' which I take from Norris's Dictionary, p. 125. Again  *Sahat* signifies 'hour' or 'time,' being the Chaldee word שעתא 'hora.' This word frequently occurs in the abbreviated form of or '*Sat*,' whence we have the phrases  *Sat musi* 'the hour of night' or 'the night-time':  *Sat urri* 'the hour of day' or 'the day-time.' Both these phrases occur in Mr. G. Smith's valuable Annals of Assurbanipal, now printing. In page 118 of that work, mention is made of an eclipse which occurred in the year in which Tiumman king of Elam was occupied in preparations for invading Babylonia; which year can I think be identified. The seventh warlike expedition of Assurbanipal soon followed, in the course of which Tiumman was defeated and slain. It is expressly said that the eclipse had portended evil to the Elamite king: indeed I think that the words [*ana sar*] *Elam uhalliq mat-su*, mean 'to the king of Elam it portended his death' (while to me it was the best of omens, and did not prove a vain one). This latter clause I give with some hesitation, as there is a small *lacuna* in the tablet.

Two words here require some notice. *Mat* in the sense of 'death' is unusual, but I have already given an example of it in my Glossary. *Halliq mat sar* 'to portend the king's death' is a phrase which I have given in No. 239 of my Glossary, which runs as follows. *Talkâ mat sar*, 'if thou augurest the king's death,' may it be false! *Talkâ bullut*, 'if thou augurest his life,' may it be true! This verb *ḥalliq* or *ḥalk* is the Chaldee חלק 'to cast lots.' They divined future events by means of certain pebbles חלק 'lapillus computatorius' (Gesenius). Nec *Babylonios* tentaris numeros (Horace).

The passage in page 118 of the Annals of Assurbanipal, is as follows:  'In the month *Su* an eclipse was seen in the daytime.' The monogram is explained in Syllabary 272 to mean  *Khasu* 'it was seen.' Hebrew חזה 'to see.'  *Sat urri* 'in the daytime.' Therefore

it was a solar eclipse. The opposite phrase  *Sat musi* 'in the night time' is more common, *ex. gr.* same work, p. 123. *As sat musi suatu sha amkhuru-si*, 'in the nighttime of that night in which I prayed to her' (the goddess Ishtar of Arbela) 'a certain Seer lay down and had a dream. The goddess appeared to him, &c. &c.'—I think therefore that the mention of this eclipse is sufficiently clear and explicit to justify an enquiry being made to ascertain its date. If none such is found in the year of Tiumman's death, or the preceding year, we must conclude that some darkness of another kind had obscured the sky at Shushan, and had caused an ignorant and superstitious terror.

¶ That the Astronomy of the Assyrians was not far advanced appears plainly from the Observatory Record No. 9 in the new volume of British Museum inscriptions, plate 51. "On the 28th 29th and 30th day of the month we kept watch for an eclipse of the Sun. But the Sun was bright and no eclipse happened." Thus it appears that they knew full well that a solar eclipse was caused by the interposition of the lunar orb, but that they were uncertain of the true time of conjunction to the extent of one or two days.

Additional Note.—The capricious and disappointing nature of many of the Assyrian records is well illustrated by a perusal of the Observatory Report, No. 7 in the same page: in which an observer named Nebo-sum-adan reports to the king, as follows:  "On the 14th day of the month we kept a watch upon the Moon:"  "The Moon was eclipsed."

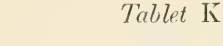
Nothing can be more clear and precise. But the only points of importance, the month and the year of the king, are omitted, although these are so abundantly preserved upon Contracts of Sale and other documents, of which the exact date is immaterial.

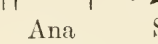
Appendix.

Since the preceding notes were written Mr. G. Smith of the British Museum has kindly sent me a correct copy of

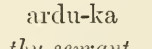
the tablet K 131, from which I have made the following translation. I had supposed the writer of the tablet Kukuru to have been an Astronomer, since he wrote to the king concerning an Eclipse; but it now appears that he was a General in command of an army.

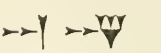
Tablet K 131 *in the British Museum.*

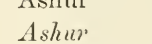
1. 
Ana Sar matati bil-ya
To the King of the nations my Lord

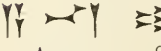
2. 
ardu-ka Kukuru
thy servant Kukuru [writes this]

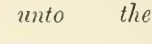
3.
Ashur Shamas u Marduk
Ashur the Sun and Marduk

4. 
Ana Sar belni-ya
unto the king my lord

5. 
likrubu!— Kharran ultu Sar bil
may they be propitious!—The army [sent] from the king [my] lord

6. 
ana mat Mitsir il-lil-lik
unto the land of Egypt has arrived.

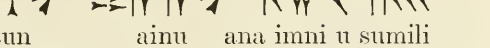
7. 
as arkhi Su atalu iskunnu
In the month Su an Eclipse happened

8. 
zabi-ya ana malathu sha mat Ashur
[whereat] my soldiers to desert to Assyria

9.

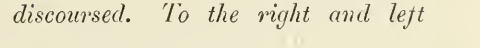
as libbi-sun ainu ana imni u sumili

among themselves discoursed. To the right and left

10. 

iltappar adû

they dispersed themselves.

11. 

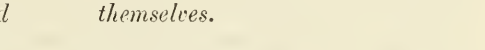
Tar miriatati-sun

The Chief of their rebellion

12.

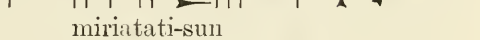
Sar lishalu miti

let the king send to death

13. 

sha atalu sha arkhi Su ki ashâ

because the eclipse of the month Su most criminally

14. 

ana pani Sar ikhtilik.

adversely to the king he explained the omen.

A few observations will be necessary upon the words of this inscription.

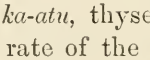
In line 6, *il-lil-lik* is only a more emphatic pronunciation of *il-lik*. The introduced syllable *lil* conforms to the two syllables between which it is placed, as in other instances, *ex. gr.* az-bat, *emphaticè* az-zab-bat.

Line 8. *Malathu* is the Hebrew verb מלט to desert, run away, or depart suddenly. Line 9. *Ainu*. Heb. ענה to converse, so in Syriac 'confabulari.'

Line 10. *Adû*, themselves. A word which occurs in several other places. For instance in Mr. G. Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 298, in a dispatch to the king from one of his generals: "There has been a fight with the Arabians—One man only has saved his life, and has reached a city belonging to the king—*I send the man himself, that the king may hear it from his mouth.* Adû altapras-su, Sar sa pi-su

lismi." Compare also p. 197 of same work, *adû altaprassun* (in the plural).

Adu enters into the composition of several words, as *ya-atu*, myself: *ka-atu*, thyself (fem. *ka-ati*). It is the same word, or at any rate of the same origin, as the Hebrew את (*ipse*) which Gesenius says is the Greek *Αυτος*, comparing the words אתו *ἑαυτον*, אתם *ἑαυτους*. In the Rabbinic dialect the word is אות, *ex. gr.* באות היום *αυτῃ τῃ ἡμερᾳ*. See Gesenius, who has a good deal more on the subject.

Line 11. *Tar*, a Chief, as in the well-known word  *Tartan*, great chief or general I would derive *Tar* from the Hebrew root יתר præstantia, dignitas, opes [also plùs, ampliùs] see Schindler's Lexicon, p. 823.

Miriatati, revolt, defection, desertion, is the Hebrew מרי from מרה to rebel. בית מרי a rebellious house (domus contumax. *Gesen.*) Ezek. ii. 5. בני מרי (homines contumaces).

Line 12. *Lishalu* from שלה mittere. Or it may be the Assyrian verb *shala* to crucify.

Line 13. *Ashā* is the Arabic word اثم *asā* "offence, crime, sin." Catafago's dict. p. 12.

Line 14. *Ikhtilik*, a verb in the T conjugation, from the root חלק to augur, interpret an omen, &c. &c. which we have already seen to be used in connexion with the king's life and death. In Arabic the verb means (according to Gesenius) destinavit, prædestinavit.

After the 14th line the letter of Kukuru passes on to other matters.

This authentic original dispatch of an Assyrian general possesses a high degree of interest. It shows how really great was the panic inspired by an eclipse upon the minds of a superstitious soldiery. History repeats itself. The reader will probably be reminded of the terror of the Athenian army in Sicily, caused by an eclipse of the moon the night before the army was to embark and return to Athens. The alarm extended even to Nicias its general, who proposed to delay operations for a whole month (in order to make sure of the moon having recovered its brightness). This hesitation caused the destruction of himself and his army, B.C. 411 (*Plutarch in Niciâ*).

¶ On further consideration I think that lines 9 and 10 ought to be translated as follows: "*To the Right and Left they sent signals.*" In Eastern conspiracies it has been the custom, perhaps from time immemorial, to pass a symbol from hand to hand to signify that all are ready for the insurrection. Some object is chosen of the most harmless appearance in order not to awaken suspicion. An instance of this occurred very lately in the great Indian mutiny of 1857.

While maintaining what I have said about the Hebrew word אֹת or אוֹת *ipse*, I am now of opinion that in the passage before us a different word is employed, namely אֹת or אוֹת *signum* (a sign or symbol), אֹת being the Chaldean form, and אוֹת the Hebrew. Hence I render *iltappar adû* 'they sent signals.' I will give another example of *adu* employed in the sense of *signum*, which I take from Mr. Smith's Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 249. I have given the general meaning but not the exact words.

"The news from Elam is, that the two rival kings are about to engage in battle. Their standards are planted on the opposite sides of a river. Basaza takes this. Enquire from him the latest news." *Adû as eli nahr ana tarzi ahamis nadû.* i.e. *Adû* their standards, *nadû* are planted. Gesenius says: אוֹת *signum militare: vexillum.*

ON A HIEROGLYPHIC TABLET OF ALEXANDER, SON OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT CAIRO.

By S. Birch, Esq., LLD.

Read 2nd May, 1871.

In an excavation lately made at Cairo for the purpose of building a house requiring repair, a tablet of black granite has been discovered, with a very remarkable inscription, dated in the seventh year of Alexander, son of Alexander the Great. This inscription has been published with an interlinear translation by M. Brugsch in the "Zeitschrift,"[1] and it is so interesting for its contents that I have drawn up the following short paper on it in connection with the rule of the Persians in Egypt as known from monumental sources. The scene of the tablet represented the youthful monarch standing and worshipping the deities Har-net-atf, Horus, the avenger of his father, and Uat the supposed goddess Buto, the lady of Pe and Tep—which last was the capital of the 19th Egyptian nome. The new tablet proves that Pe and Tep are consequently the names of the gods Har or Apollo, and Uat or Buto, and that the name of the chief town of the 19th nome was really the place of Buto—or Bato. This is the first point of information afforded by the new inscription. The next point is that the tablet is dated the 1st of the month Thoth, in the 7th year of the youthful Alexander, who is called 'the joy of Amen, and the choice of the Sun, and beloved of the gods of Buto.' This prenomen, 'the joy of Amen, the choice of the Sun,' was chosen on account of the supposed relation of his father, Alexander the Great, to the deity Ammon. The date is of his 7th year; as the birth of Alexander II took place in B.C. 323, and his reign, which commenced in 317, ended in 311, it is clear that it

[1] Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache. 4to. Berlin, 1871, p. 1, et seq.

was dated from the 1st of Thoth, although he is credited by the canon with having reigned only six years, the interregnum, however, between his death and the accession of Ptolemy being reckoned as part of his reign. He was put to death at the age of 12 by Cassander. The youthful monarch is mentioned as the king of Asia, but Ptolemy Lagus, not yet invested with royal attributes, is stated to be the king of Egypt, or rather a great chief in Egypt. Ptolemy is stated to be in the flower of his age, and his character is truly described as invincible against his enemies, and that "there was no one like him in foreign lands," alluding to his rivals and contemporaries, the successors of Alexander. To Ptolemy Soter, as subsequently to Euergetes I, the hieroglyphic text attributes the merit of having restored to their places in Egypt the images of the gods, the vessels and books of the Egyptian temples, which were found in Asia or Persia, although it is not stated how or by whom they had been carried there.

After the death of Alexander the Great, his empire, as is well known, was divided amongst his generals, but the official successors to the whole empire were, it appears from the Egyptian monuments, first Philip Aridæus, in whose name all documents ran, and who reigned till he was put to death, with his wife, by Olympias, in B.C. 317. During the end of that and part of the succeeding year Olympias occupied the position of co-regent with Cassander, and the official monarch or king was the youthful Alexander; and although, according to Dexippus, Heracles another son of the conqueror was associated with him in the government, the name of Alexander neither appears in the dated contracts nor the monuments. According to the canon,[1] the reign of Alexander the Younger ended B.C. 311, when he was killed by Cassander; but there was a subsequent interregnum of six years before Ptolemy assumed the title of king. How the official documents were dated in this interval does not appear; the canon credits the years to Alexander. Philip Aridæus was never in Egypt, having been first in the power of Perdiccas, and subsequently left in Macedon, which

[1] Ideler, Hermapion, App. p. 79.

was governed by Polysperchon at the time of the death of Perdiccas on the banks of the Nile. Like Aridæus, Alexander the Younger resided in Macedon, and was put to death by Cassander.[1] The three regents of the empire had been Perdiccas, Antipater, and Polysperchon, and the Egyptian viceroy Ptolemy is called, in this hieroglyphic inscription, a great chief or ruler of Egypt; and he styles himself a satrap (khshatrapon) of the country, under which title it appears from the Greek authorities that he ruled under that title. The inscription, to resume the review of its contents, states that Ptolemy dwelt 'in the gates of the city of the king who loved the name or existence of Ammon, the approved of Ra, the son of the Sun, Alexandros' is its name, *i.e.* Alexandria, on the shore of the Great Sea of the Ionians or Greeks, that is the Mediterranean, called formerly Rakat. He assembled, it continues to state, the Ionians, under which term is comprised the Greeks in general or the Macedonian and other mercenaries in his service; men and cavalry, numerous ships and their crews, and went with his forces to the land of Kharu or Syria, which was at war with him. He went in the midst of his enemies, his courage was great, like an eagle among smaller birds. He took them, *i.e.*, his enemies the Syrians, and brought their officers, horses, ships, and all their treasure to Egypt. This is the Egyptian official account of the defeat of Demetrius at Palai Gaza or old Gaza by Ptolemy in B.C. 312. After this, the inscription states, and therefore probably, in the next year he made an expedition to Mer-merti, or the Marmarica. He took it at once; he led their people, men, women, and gods, in revenge for what they had done, to Egypt. This closes the military operations, and must have taken place in the sixth year of Alexander.

With this portion ends the historical notice of Ptolemy, as regards his foreign policy. His next object was to celebrate a festival for his victories, and to offer some acceptable commemoration to the gods. The governors of Lower Egypt. They stated that under the reign of a king named Khabash, that monarch, in a visit he had made to the

[1] Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, Vol. II, p. 289; III, p. 202.

Delta and its shores, in passing through the marshes, and inspecting the arms of the Nile which lead to the Mediterranean, in order to oppose the fleets of Asia from entering Egypt, had given the land of Patanut, or the nomos Phthenotes, or Phtheneoutes, to the gods of Pe and Tep, or the state of Buto. Ptolemy, it appears, inquired of those about him what this Patanut was. Their answer was that it had belonged formerly to the state of Buto, but that the enemy Xerxes had made it otherwise, and given nothing to the gods of the district. Ptolemy ordered the priests and chiefs of Pe and Tep to be sent for, in order to inquire what evil had been done by Xerxes. They stated that he had ill-treated the towns of Pe and Tep and taken away its possessions. They then made the following statement: "The ruler, our lord, Horus the son of Isis and Osiris, ruler of rulers, king of kings of Egypt, the avenger of his father, the lord of Pe, the beginning of the gods existing afterwards, who has no king to come up to him, threw the evil doer Xerxes out of his palace, with his eldest son, making it known in the town of Neith to this day, at the side of the holy mother."

Two historical facts are here contained, the first that Khabash had been the legitimate ruler of the country in the time of the Persian monarchs, contemporary to one of the Xerxes of the canon, probably Xerxes I, and that Khabash had overthrown the power of Xerxes, and expelled him and his eldest son from the town of Sais. The name of Khabash is not new to history, for one of the coffins of the Apis, dated in the month of Athor, in the second year of his reign, was found at the Serapeum. The position of this coffin has, however, not been given by Mariette, so that it is not possible to know if it was amongst those of the middle or the end of the Persian dynasty, but Khabash is placed by Lepsius as king of the 28th dynasty. As the other Apis bulls of the period died in the reigns of Cambyses and Darius, it is probable that the one which died in the early part of the 27th dynasty was that of Khabash. In favour of its referring to Xerxes I is the fact of the revolt of Egypt from the Persians, which commenced B.C. 487, and was not

suppressed by Xerxes till B.C. 484, when Achæmenes was appointed satrap of the country. Yet Xerxes I had been recognized at a later period as the legitimate monarch, and dates of the 19th Thoth of the 2nd year of his reign, B.C. 484, that when Egypt was reduced again under the Persian sway, of the 6th, 10th, 12th, and of the 13th year of Xerxes have been found in Egypt at the Cosseir Road. Why, then, should Xerxes be mentioned in this inscription as a public enemy and tyrant, probably to flatter the Greeks, whose invasion of Asia by Alexander the Great had avowedly been undertaken to avenge the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. But who was Khabash? The name of the monarch who was set up as an opponent of Xerxes and Darius has not been given by any ancient author. The name of Khabash is apparently Persian, terminating like that of Dariush, Khshershesh, and Artakhshershesh in a final *shin*, which renders it probable that he was a satrap or viceroy of the province who threw off the Persian rule. An attempt of a similar character had been unsuccessfully made by Aryandes at the commencement of the reign of Darius, but was at once repressed. The name has a very Persian physiognomy under any circumstances. The eldest son of Xerxes was Darius, and Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes, the third son of that monarch; but if he was the son of Xerxes who was ejected from Sais does not appear. Xerxes, it will be observed, had tried to recover Egypt by a fleet, which was destined to enter the Damietta arm of the Nile, and the discomfiture of his host had been attributed to the wrath of the deity Horus as one of the gods of Buto. In acknowledgment of the power of Horus, Ptolemy acknowledges that god as the director and path or model of himself. The priests and chiefs of the nome then demanded back the maritime district of Patanut for the gods of Pe and Tep, with all its productions, as a present in his name and a mark of his favour. "Then," says the inscription, "spoke this great ruler, that a decree should be made in writing in place of the writing of the royal scribe of the accounts saying, Ptolemy, who rules as satrap the land of Buto, I give it to Horus, the avenger of his father, lord of Pe, and to Buto, mistress of

Tep, from this day for ever, with its villages, its towns, its inhabitants, its fields, its waters, its oxen, its birds, and its herds, and all its productions, both which were formerly and have been brought in together with the gift which was given by the king, lord of the two lands, Khabash ever living. Its south is the nome of the town Buto, and Hermopolis, its north reaches to the mouths of the Nile and the downs on the shore of the great sea. Its west is the mouths of the Sekhurr or Pliers of the rudder .... to the downs; its east is the nome of Sebennys. Its calves are for the great hawks or gods, its oxen are for the forehead of Nebtau mistress of the world, its bulls are for the living hawks, its milk for the noble child [Horus], its birds are for the god who dwells in Sha, who is the lord living in it: all the productions of its soil are for the table of Horus himself, lord of Pe and Buto, the crown of Harmachis for ever. All that which gave the king the lord of the two countries, the image of Tanen, the approved of Ptah, the son of the Sun, Khabash the ever living, has renewed again this ruler, the great regent of Egypt, Ptolemaius, the gifts to the gods of Pe and Tep for ever. As a reward for what he has done, power, victory to the content of his heart has been given to him, so that all lands are as it were in terror of him. As respects the land of Buto, that which is produced by it or depends upon it, whoever takes anything from it, will be under the ban of the gods of Pe and the curse of the gods of Tep; may he be in the flames of the goddess Aptau in the days of her wrath, and neither a son nor daughter to give him water."

According to M. Brugsch, who has published this tablet with an interlinear translation, the east of the maritime province held the nome of Sebennytus, on the western bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, the territory stretched northwards, and formed the eastern border of the nome of Buto. *Pa-sa-ta* on the sea shore was the northern boundary, probably the *Ἄγνου κέρας*, Cape Agnus Castus, a small flat spit of land between the Burullos Lake and the sea. This corresponds with the modern lake and can be no other. It is at present filled with ruins at the entrance. Probably Buto is the modern ruin-mounds of Kum el Aman and

Kum el Gir. Hermopolis is mentioned as a second boundary to the south, with the remark "at the mouths of the Nile." This Hermopolis of Lower Egypt was the 15th nome, and the city was probably Kum Ferrain, lying to the south-west of the supposed mounds of Buto. The western boundary was the mouth of the Nile called the Rudderbeaters, or Pliers. This, according to Brugsch, was the northern portion of the present Rosetta branch. As Har or Horus was Apollo, so Uat or Buto was the Latona of Egyptian mythology. Her name means 'the sea' or lake; and she personified the female element of the water—the Thetis or Amphitrite of their system, which had no Neptune or Poseidon. In the numerous legends attached to her she expressed the goddess of the North or Lower Egypt, the Earth as one of the two worlds of the Kosmos, in antithesis to Seben or Nishem, who represented Eilerthyia the eponymous goddess of Syene, the southernmost limit of Egypt, the presiding deity of the upper country, or the upper world, or heaven. Although subordinate, these two goddesses are found often represented on the monuments jointly as the rulers of Upper and Lower Egypt, and under their respective forms of the asp and the vulture, designated the diadems of the upper and lower country. Formerly Buto was supposed to be a form of *Mut*, the great mother, the wife of Ammon; but M. Brugsch's reading of this new inscription has proved that *Uat* is the Buto of the Greeks. This new tablet is one of the most important yet discovered of late years for its historical and geographical information, It is true that it belongs to a period when more is known of the history of Egypt from the Greek and Roman writers. but it is, at the same time, remarkable that this tablet, and that of San, or the so-called decree of Canopus, contain historical information not afforded by the usual historical authorities. However much it may be regretted that the texts of the Egyptian monuments are encumbered with the pompous titles of monarchs, and the names and attributes of deities, yet more historical information has been recorded on them than is found either in Greek or Latin inscriptions. The tablet published and explained by M. Brugsch is, indeed, a contribution to the history of the successors of Alexander,

and of Egypt at the period. Such inscriptions were the title-deeds of the period, the solemn records of the endowments and the privileges of the temples; to which and to the sepulchres is due a great portion of what may be deemed authentic in the history of the Nile. The Egyptian preserved as much with his chisel as his pen the records of the age in which he lived; and in the Delta the conditions are far more favourable for the tablet than the papyrus. There is very little new in the text of this tablet for Egyptian philology; its value is chiefly historical.

EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

By G. Smith.

The early history of Babylonia was unknown, previous to the labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson. Excavations on several of the sites of early Babylonian cities were carried out under his directions, and, on deciphering the inscriptions discovered in these mounds, Sir Henry published the first authentic list of early Chaldean and Babylonian monarchs.

In the year 1858, soon after I commenced the study of the Cuneiform records, I received, through the kindness of Sir Henry Rawlinson, a list of the Cuneiform names of these monarchs; arranged by their discoverer, even at that early date, in nearly the same order as at present.

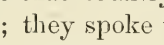
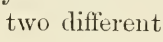
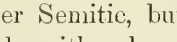
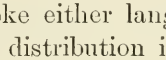
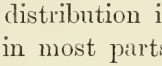
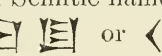
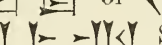
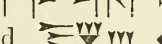
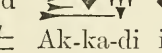
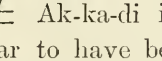
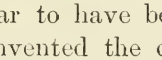
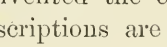
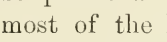
The discoveries and opinions of Sir Henry Rawlinson on this and similar subjects, are well set forth in the "Five Monarchies," and "Herodotus," two works published by his brother the Rev. George Rawlinson, Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford. These two works, from the great extent of their information and the soundness of the critical and historical matter they contain, form the standard books on the subjects on which they treat.

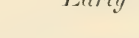
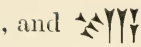
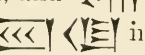
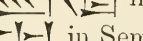
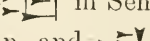
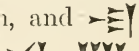
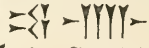
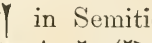
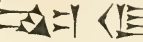
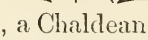
After these discoveries M. Oppert published a work called "Histoire des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie," Versailles, 1865, in which he gave translations of several early Babylonian inscriptions. M. Oppert's list of early Babylonian monarchs contained many more names than are found in Sir Henry Rawlinson's publications; but most of these were spurious monarchs, founded on erroneous interpretations of texts.

I commenced my own study of the subject on the basis of Sir Henry's discoveries, and in the course of my work at the Museum have been fortunate enough to find several new inscriptions and new monarchs. My principal results I embodied in a paper read before the Biblical Archæological

Society, 6th June, 1871, which formed the basis of the following article. The expense of its publication has been borne by my kind friend and liberal patron Mr. Samuel Sharp, the author of several historical and philological works.

NOTE.—For the convenience of readers, I have generally placed (*g.*) before the names of deities, (*c.*) before the names of cities, and [-] to include restorations.

WHEN the light of monumental history first dawns upon Babylonia we find that country inhabited by two races, the Sumir and Akkad; they spoke two different languages, one Turanian the other Semitic, but we have no information as to which race spoke either language, and we do not know their geographical distribution in the country, but probably they were mixed in most parts, as many of the cities have both Turanian and Semitic names. The name of the Sumir was written  or  Ke-en-gi in Turanian, and  Su-mi-ri in Semitic, and the Akkad were called  Ur in Turanian, and  Ak-ka-di in Semitic. The Turanian people, who appear to have been the original inhabitants of the country, invented the cuneiform mode of writing; all the earliest inscriptions are in that language, but the proper names of most of the kings and principal persons are written in Semitic, in direct contrast to the body of the inscriptions. The Semites appear to have conquered the Turanians, although they had not yet imposed their language on the country. Babylonia at this time contained many great cities, some of the principal being Nipur, written  in Turanian, and  in Semitic; this city was probably the earliest seat of empire, and long continued the centre of the Babylonian religion. Eriḍu or Riḍu, written  in Turanian, and  and  in Semitic; Ur, written  in Turanian, and  in Semitic; Karrak, written 

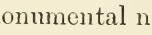
in Turanian, and  in Semitic; Uruk (Erech) written  in Turanian, and  and  in Semitic; Larsa, written  in Turanian, and  in Semitic; Sippara, written  in Turanian, and  and  in Semitic;  Zergulla, and Agani.

Berosus, a Chaldean priest in the third century B.C., wrote a history of Chaldea, from which the following fragments of chronology have been preserved; they may be compared with the monumental notices:—

Chronological Scheme of Berosus.

10 kings before the Flood, commencing with Al-orus	432,000 years.
86 kings after the Flood, to the Median Conquest	3,4080 or 3,3091 years.
8 Median kings	224 or 190 years.
11 other kings	duration unknown.
49 Chaldean kings	458 years.
9 Arabian kings	245 years.
45 kings	526 years.

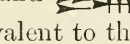
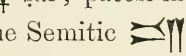
After whom came Pul and Sennacherib.

A similar system of chronology was probably believed in during the later historic period. Sargon, king of Babylon, B.C. 710–705, says, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 36, "350 ancient kings before me the dominion of Assyria ruled and governed the dominion of Bel (Babylonia)"; and in another place, "From the days remote the time of (*g.*) Ur to the kings my fathers of Assyria and Karduniyas (Babylonia)." The God Ur here spoken of is evidently the first mythical king of Berosus, Al-orus; his cuneiform name is  . Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626, states, "History of Assurbanipal," p. 250, that Babylonia was conquered by an Elamite named Kudur-nanḫundi, 1635 before his own capture of Shushan, or about B.C. 2280. This conquest by Kudur-nanḫundi I have conjectured to be the same as the Median conquest of Berosus, but Kudurnanḫundi has left

no monuments, unless he be the same as the Kudur-mabug who built at Ur. No approximate date can be fixed for any Babylonian monarch before Kara-indas, who reigned about B.C. 1475, and the period of the rulers whom we know to have preceded him must be acknowledged to be at present quite uncertain.

The annals of the early monarchs of Babylonia are for the most part lost, but there are sufficient remains of their works to show that their dominion was a most important one. All the great temples of Babylonia were founded by the kings who preceded the conquest by Ḥammurabi the king of the Kassi, and the date of this conquest cannot be placed later than the 16th century B.C. Bricks and stone tablets, with inscriptions of these early Babylonian monarchs, have been found at most of the sites, and the vast size of their works shows their great power. The civilization of this early period is proved by the works on Geography, Astrology, Mythology, Grammar, Mathematics, &c., parts of which inscribed on clay tablets are now in the British Museum.

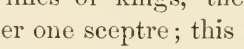
The civil administration and laws of the country are partly shown by a number of sale, loan and law tablets belonging to the close of the period in question (about the time of Ḥammurabi); and the state of the fine arts can be estimated by the thousands of beautifully engraved seals belonging to this age, now in various European Museums.

The titles of the early rulers of Babylonia were  pa-te-ṣi, and ṣar; patesi means deputy or viceroy, and is equivalent to the Semitic  is-sak-ku; when combined with the name of a deity, as Pateṣi (*g.*) Assur "viceroy of the God Assur," it may denote an independent ruler, but the pateṣi of towns in Babylonia were most probably governors or viceroys of the kings; I will here give their inscriptions first, for convenience.

The monumental kings of Babylonia divide themselves naturally into three groups,—1st, the Chaldean or native kings before the conquest of the Kassi; 2nd, the kings of

the Kassi dynasty; and 3rd, the Chaldean or native kings, successors of the Kassi.

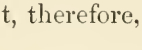
The Babylonian monarchs usually took their titles from their capital cities, and probably formed in some cases contemporary lines of kings, the country being not always united under one sceptre; this fact, combined with our want of information respecting the earlier periods of Babylonian history, makes it impossible to present the list of kings in chronological order. The following arrangement of the names must, therefore, be considered as only provisional.

1. 
Mi-(?)-sa-nana-kalam-mi(?).

The name of this ruler is Turanian; only one of his inscriptions is preserved. Nothing is known respecting the extent of his dominions, or the position of his capital.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

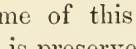
"Mi-sa-nana-kalammi, viceroy of (*c.*) Riḍu, high priest of *mati . . . num . .* son of Be . . ḥuk."

2.  , **I-da-du.**

This governor ruled at the same city as the former one. Eriḍu his capital was one of the greatest Babylonian cities. The name Idadu is Semitic.

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK (UNPUBLISHED).

"To (*g.*) Nin-riḍu, his king, for the preservation of Idadu, viceroy of (*c.*) Ridu, the servant the delight of (*g.*) Nin-riḍu."

3.  , **Bel-samū.**

Bel-samū, whose name is written in Turanian Va-anna, was ruler of Zirgulla, probably represented by the mounds of Zerghul, east of the river Hye, in Babylonia.

INSCRIPTION ON A CONE (UNPUBLISHED).

"Bel-samū, viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla. (*g.*) Nana his delight *ip* ..... he built, Bitanna of the east country he completed."

4. , **Gu-de-a.**

The reading Gudea for the name of this governor is based on the passage C.I., Vol. 2, p. 20, line 24. The word is evidently Turanian, its Semitic equivalents being nagagu, ḫababu, and nabū. Gudea was ruler at Zirgulla. There are numerous inscriptions of this governor, but most of them are of the two types translated here. The relics of Gudea are found over a considerable extent of country, and on the sites of important cities.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GUDEA.

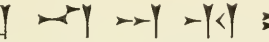
C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 1, on cones from *Warka* (Erech) and Babylon.

"To (*g.*) Ninip the king, his king, Gudea viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla, his house built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIII, 2, on a cone from Zerghul (Zirgulla).

"To (*g.*) Nana the lady, lady splendid(?) his lady, Gudea viceroy of (*c.*) Zirgulla ..... raised."

There are two other texts of this ruler in the British Museum, one on a black stone statue, the other on a brick; these are too mutilated to translate.

5. 

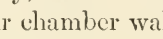
Ku-dur-na-an-ḫu-un-di.

This monarch is mentioned by Assurbanipal in the following passage, "History of Assurbanipal," p. 250,—"Kudur-nanḫundi the Elamite who the worship of the great Gods did not [fear], who in an evil resolve to his own force [trusted] on the temples of Akkad his hands he had laid and he oppressed Akkad ..... the days were full .... for 2 ner 7 sos and 15 years under the Elamites."

This period, 2 ner 7 sos 15 years, which elapsed from the time of Kudur-nanḫundi, equals 1635 years; according to other inscriptions, at the close of this period Assurbanipal conquered Elam and recovered an image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried away from Babylonia in this early conquest.

6. , **Za-bu-ū.**

This ancient king of Babylonia is only known to us from the broken cylinder of Nabonidus, according to which he founded the temples of Anunit (Venus) and Samas (the Sun) at Sippara; these temples having fallen into decay, were restored by Saga-saltias, an early Babylonian monarch, and again falling into decay one was repaired by Nabonidus. The notice of Zabū is as follows, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 69, lines 27–31: "Then Bit-parra the house of (*g.*) Samas of (*c.*) Sippara my lord, and Bit-ulmas the house of (*g.*) Anunit of (*c.*) Sippara, (*g.*) Anunit my lady, which were from the time of Zabū in ancient days; their chamber walls had fallen in."

7.  , **Ur(?)-ukh(?).**

According to the statements of the excavators, the bricks of Urukh were found in the foundations of buildings, the upper parts of which were constructed of bricks bearing inscriptions of other early Chaldean kings; the remains of his buildings even now exceed those of every other Chaldean monarch except Nebuchadnezzar, so that his reign must have been a long and important one. The name of this king has been compared to the Arioch of Genesis and the Orchamus of Ovid, but the reading Urukh is very doubtful.

Many of the earliest temples of Babylonia were founded by Urukh, among these we may notice the Temple of the Moon at Ur, and two other buildings at the same city, one called Bit-timgal, the other Bit-saresser; this latter was a tower, built in stages like a pyramid. Urukh having died before this building was completed, it was finished by his son Dungi; its ruins now form the most conspicuous object on the site of Ur. The wall of the city of Ur was also built by Urukh. At Larsa he founded the Temple of the Sun, and at Erech the Temple of Venus, called Bit-anna or the "house of Heaven." At Nipur, the ancient capital of Babylonia, he founded or restored the great Temple of Bel, and another to Beltis; and at Zirgulla he built a temple to Sar-ili the "king of the gods."

INSCRIPTIONS OF URUKH.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1. No. I, 1 and 2, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

"Urukh king of (*c.*) Ur, who the house of (*g.*) Ur built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 3, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

"To (*g.*) Ur his king, Urukh king of (*c.*) Ur his house built, and the wall of (*c.*) Ur built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 4, on cone from Mugheir (Ur).

"To (*g.*) Ur, the lesser light of heaven, eldest son of (*g.*) Bel his king, Urukh the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, Bit-timgal the house of his delight built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 5, on brick from Mugheir (Ur).

"To (*g.*) Ur, eldest son of Bel his king, Urukh the powerful man, the fierce warrior, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-timgal the house of his delight built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 6, on brick from Warka (Erech).

"To (*g.*) Nana his lady, Urukh the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, her house built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. I, 7, on brick from Senkereh (Larsa).

"To (*g.*) Samas his king, Urukh the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, his house built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 8, on black stone at Niffer (Nipur).

"To (*g.*) Belat his lady, Urukh king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, her house the .... of her delight built."

C.I., Vol. 2, p. 1, No. I, 9, on brick from Niffer (Nipur).

"Urukh king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, who the house of (*g.*) Bel built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 1, No. I, 10, on signet cylinder.

"To Urukh, the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, Hassinnir, viceroy of (*c.*) Isbaggi(?)-bel thy servant."

ON UNPUBLISHED BRICK FROM ZERGHUL (?).

"To (*g.*) Ṣar-ili his king, Urukh king of (*c.*) Ur, ... du .... [in Zir]-gulla built."

8. , Dun(?)-gi(?).

Dungi was the son and successor of Urukh; he is known to have completed and repaired some of his father's buildings, but his monuments are not nearly so numerous. His building were principally at Ur and Erech.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DUNGI.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 1, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

"Dungi, the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 2, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

"Dungi, the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-ḥarris the house of his delight built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II. 3, on black stone.

"To (*g.*) Nana, lady of Bit-anna, his lady, Dungi, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-anna its site restored, its great wall built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. II, 4, on black stone from Tel Eed.

"To (*g.*) Nin-mar-ki his lady, Dungi king of (*c.*) Ur, king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-gilṣa the fort of her delight built."

ON SIGNET CYLINDER.

"To (*g.*) Sit-ti-ta-ud-du-a, king of Bit-sidda of (*c.*) Zirgulla, for the preservation of Dungi the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, *lib nir la gu-za-lal*, son of Ur-ba-bi, made a libation (?), 'My king .... his will, may his name be preserved.'"

ON STONE WEIGHT, IN SHAPE OF DUCK, MUCH WORN AND DOUBTFUL.

"10 manchs of Dungi."

NOTICE OF URUKH AND DUNGI IN A CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS, B.C. 555-538.

C.I., p. 68, lines 5 to 20.

"Bit-saresir, the tower of Bitnergal which is in (*c.*) Ur, which Urukh the very ancient king had built and had not finished it, Dungi his son its top finished. In the writings of Urukh, and Dungi his son, I saw also of that tower, Urukh

had built and had not finished it, Dungi his son its top finished. By this time that tower became old."

The name of Dungi is found also in the name of the town mentioned in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 60, line 5, Bil-dungi-ur.

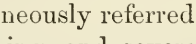
9. , [Ga]-mil(?)-nin-ip.

This king, the first part of whose name is lost, has not been noticed, although a fragment of one of his inscriptions from Niffer is printed in C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXIV; it is there erroneously referred to Ismidagan.

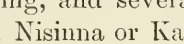
This king, and several of those that follow, ruled at a city called Nisinna or Karrak, perhaps the same as Apirak, the site of which is unknown. These kings were contemporary with the rulers of Ur and Larsa; their kingdom was destroyed a short time before the reign of Ḥammurabi.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GAMIL(?)-NINIP ON BRICKS, FROM NIFFER (NIPUR).

"Gamil(?)-ninip exalted ruler of (*c.*) Nipur *na* .... of (*c.*) Ur, ... lord of (*c.*) Eridu, beneficent lord of (*c.*) Uruk king of (*c.*) Karrak, king of Sumir and Akkad, the relative(?) the delight of the eyes of (*g.*) *Nana.*

10.  , Is-bi-bar-ra.

This king is mentioned on an unpublished fragment in the British Museum: the line reads "Isbi-barra, king of (*c.*) Karrak."

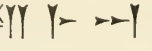
11.  , Li-bi-it-anunit.

The name of this king, imperfect in the Museum publication, is completed from one of the cones. Its first element *libit* is a well-known form of the Semitic root לבן, the second element is the name of the Babylonian Venus, the name meaning "the work of Venus," or "fashioned by Venus."

INSCRIPTION OF LIBIT-NANA.
C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVIII.

"Libit-anunit, first ruler of (*c.*) Nipur, the supreme over (*c.*) Ur, ... of (*c.*) Eridu, beneficent lord of (*c.*) Uruk, king

of (*c.*) Karrak, king of Sumir and Akkad, the restorer of (*g.*) Nana, who Bit-mekit restored."

12.  , **Is-mi-da-gan.**

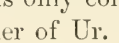
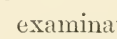
This name is Semitic, and means "Dagon heard." Sir H. Rawlinson has suggested that this Ismi-dagan was the same as the Ismi-dagan patasi of Assur, who, according to the Tiglath-Pileser cylinders, reigned in the 19th century B.C. This, however, is doubtful, but it is possible they may be of about the same age.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ISMI-DAGAN.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. V, 1 and 2, from Mugheir (Ur).

"Ismi-dagan, nourisher of (*c.*) Nipur, the supreme over (*c.*) Ur, the light(?) of (*c.*) Eridu, lord of (*c.*) Uruk (the powerful king), king of (*c.*) Karrak, king of Sumir and Akkad, the relative(?) the delight of Nana."

13. , **Gu-un-gu-nu-ū.**

Gungunu was son of Ismi-dagan, but some students hold the view that he was only contemporary with a son of Ismi-dagan, who was ruler of Ur. The matter is not proved on either side, but on examination of the originals of these inscriptions, I find the published copies incorrect in one point, the supposed second title  , "ruler of Ur," is really  , "within Ur." The second inscription is very peculiar, the characters stand in relief, contrary to the Babylonian custom, and in one copy are reversed, reading from right to left instead of from left to right.

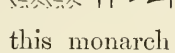
INSCRIPTIONS OF GUNGUNU.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. VI, 1, on a cone from Mugheir (Ur).

"To (*g.*) Samas, the ruler *tuda* (*g.*) Ur, leader of Bitnir-kinugal (*g.*) Ningal *ra tuda* his kings for the preservation of Gungunu the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, for the establishing of (*g.*) Anu, for the restoring of (*g.*) Ur for (*g.*) Ur within (*c.*) Ur, the son of Ismi-dagan king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-hiliani built, Bit-ginablungani built, for his preservation he built."

C.I., Vol. 1. p. 2, No. VI, 2, on bricks from Mugheir (Ur).

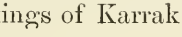
"For the establishing of (*g.*) Anu, for the delight of (*g.*) Ur for (*g.*) Ur within (*c.*) Ur, the son of Ismi-dagan king of Sumir and Akkad."

14.  , **Ilu ..... zat.**

The name of this monarch is found on the cast of a signet cylinder in the British Museum. The name of his capital is lost by a fracture of the cylinder, but he is placed here provisionally on account of the similarity of his legend to those of the kings of Karrak.

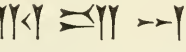
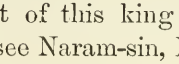
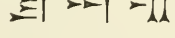
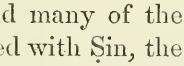
INSCRIPTION OF ILU ..... ZAT ON SIGNET CYLINDER.

"Ilu .... zat king ..... the relative the delight of ....."

15.  , **Ri-is-vul.**

No monument of this king is known, he was the last king of Apirak (see Naram-sin, No. 30).

16. , **Gamil-sin.**

This king, and many of the following ones, have their names compounded with Ṣin, the moon god, but while in the inscriptions this deity is always worshipped under the name  , Ur, whenever he enters into the composition of a Semitic name, it is under the form  or . The name of the moon god is once phonetically written in a proper name on a sale tablet in the British Museum, it reads  , Ṣi-in. The name of Gamil-ṣin in its phonetic form occurs as the name of a private person in the time of the monarch Ṣamṣu-iluna, the phonetic form is  , Ga-mil-ṣin. One of the earliest contract tablets in the British Museum is dated in the reign of Gamil-ṣin.

INSCRIPTIONS OF GAMIL-ṢIN.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XI, from a signet cylinder.

"To Gamil-ṣin the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of the four regions, Amil-anu the tablet writer, son of Gandu, thy servant."

ON THE SOCKET OF A GATE (UNPUBLISHED).

"To (*g.*) Nu-gan his noble one, Gamil-ṣin the delight of (*g.*) Bel king of (*c.*) Nipur, in the delight of his heart he blessed; the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of the four regions, his house built."

A city named after Gamil-sin is mentioned in C.I., Vol. 2, page 60, line 17.

17. , Zur(?)-ṣin.

This king, the phonetic value of whose name is uncertain, from the great similarity of his legends, is probably closely connected with Gamil-ṣin; Zur-ṣin was probably deified after his death, as his name occurs in a list of Gods, C.I., Vol. 3, p. 69, line 77. Many of the inscriptions of Zur-ṣin have been found at a ruin called Abu-shahrein, which appears to have been entirely built by him.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ZUR-ṢIN.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XII, 1, from Abu-Shahrein and Mugheir.

"Zur-ṣin, Bel the Nipurite blessed, the leader of the house of (*g.*) Bel, the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of the four regions, (*g.*) Hea the king his delight the .... of his delight he built."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. XII, 2, from Abu-Shahrein.

"Zur-ṣin the Nipurite (*g.*) Bel blessed, the leader of the house of (*g.*) Bel, the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of the four regions."

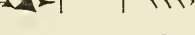
C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XIX, from Mugheir.

"Zur-ṣin the Nepurite (*g.*) Bel blessed, the leader of the house of (*g.*) Bel, the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Ur, king of the four regions, *ma-tu-ba* Zur-ṣin the delight of (*c.*) Ur, *mu-bi-ki-ri ma-tu-ba* who *ki-du-ṣu-bi tu-da-ab-kur-ri-a* Bit-ṣigabi

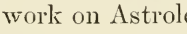
nikaria of (*g.*) Ur king of (*c.*) Ur, Ningal mother of (*c.*) Ur delight of the heart of the great God of Dur he built *tu-be-li-ni.*"

18. , I-bil-ṣin,
and , A-bil-ṣin.

The first of these forms is found on an unpublished fragment of the Chaldean work on Astrology, the passage reads "Ibil-ṣin king of Ur." The second form occurs in C.I., Vol. 3, p. 38, line 64, and several private persons bearing the same name are mentioned in early inscriptions. I have conjectured that these two names belong to the same monarch, but there is little except the similarity of sound to lead to this opinion.

19.  , Belat(?)-sunat(?).

This name, the reading of which is doubtful, represents the earliest known queen in the Euphrates valley; she is only mentioned in the inscriptions of her son Ṣin-gasit.

20.  , Ṣin-ga-si-it.

Ṣin-gasit ruled at Urukh (Warka), he is the king called Sinsada by Sir H. Rawlinson. All his memorials have been found at his capital city, where he rebuilt the temple of Venus, which had been founded by Urukh, and constructed a palace for himself.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIN-GASIT.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VIII, 1, from Warka.

"Ṣin-gasit, son of Belat-sunat king of (*c.*) Uruk, builder of Bit-anna."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VIII, 2, from Warka.

"Ṣingasit the powerful man, king of (*c.*) Uruk, king of Amnanū, the palace of his royalty built."

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE, FROM WARKA.

"To (*g.*) Ṣar-tur-da his God, and Belat-sunat his mother, Ṣin-gasit king of (*c.*) Uruk, king of Amnanū, nourisher of

Bit-anna, who Bit-anna built, Bit-kirib Bit-kiba, *lib tul-la ka-ne-ne*, he built for the prolonging of his kingdom, he built 18 *segur* 12 manehs of *dukta* (?) 10 manehs of bronze *as-ni* the house, silver like a mountain 1 shekel of silver ..... its name he called, giving delight and pleasure (?).

21. , Ṣi-im-ti-si-il-ḫa-ak.

This ruler is only known from the inscriptions of his son Kudur-mabug; his name is probably Elamite.

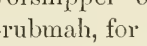
22. , Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk.

Kudur-mabuk has been conjectured to have some connection with the Chedorlaomer of Genesis, and the term abda Martu has been supposed to refer to that monarch's Syrian conquests, but a careful inspection of the inscription shows that is an error of the lithograph copy, the original having ad-da, instead. The word adda, from its use in some of these inscriptions, appears to bear the meaning king or lord, in addition to its usual meaning father, hence the kindred forms and are rendered malaku in Assyrian, meaning prince or ruler. Kudur-mabuk was adda or lord of Syria and lord of Yamutbal. The word Yamutbal, which has long been a puzzle to me, I find, from a bilingual passage on K 112, to mean Elam, so that this ruler claimed dominion over the whole country from Syria to Elam. Kudur-mabuk, from the number of his inscriptions and the extent of his dominion, appears to have been an important monarch, but although the monuments of this period are inscribed with his name as lord paramount, he did not reign personally in Babylonia. The crown of that country he bestowed on his son Ardu-ṣin, whom he names with himself in his inscriptions, and on whom he invokes the blessings of the Babylonian deities. Besides the texts translated here, there are two other inscriptions of Kudur-mabuk, one on a bronze statue of a goddess in the Louvre, and the other on a clay cylinder in the British Museum.

INSCRIPTION OF KUDUR-MABUK.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. III, from Mugheir.

"To (*g.*) Ur his king: Kudur-mabuk lord of Syria, son of Ṣimti-silḫak, worshipper of (*g.*) Ur, his protector marching before him, Bit-rubmah, for his preservation and the preservation of Ardu-ṣin his son, king of Larṣa, they built."

23.  , Ardu(?)-ṣin.

Ardu-ṣin was the son of Kudur-mabuk; he was made king of (*c.*) Larṣa during his father's lifetime. Extensive remains of buildings erected by Ardu-ṣin have been discovered, and in his inscriptions he claims to have restored many of the national temples.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ARDU-ṢIN.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVI, from Mugheir.

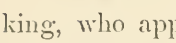
"Ardu-ṣin the powerful man, the high ruler, established by (*g.*) Bel, nourisher of (*c.*) Ur, king of (*c.*) Larṣa, king of Sumir and Akkad, son of Kudur-mabuk the lord of Elam, (*c.*) Ur the great he embellished, its ..... he established, (*g.*) Ur my king blessed me, the great wall of Ḫarris-galla to prevent invasion, its circuit I raised I built, the city I encircled, the great tower of (*g.*) Ur strongly I constructed."

ON UNPUBLISHED CONE.

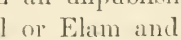
"(*g.*) Ur lord of spirits and angels(?) .... my king Ardu-ṣin nourisher of the temple, head ruler of Bit-nergal the renowned man, lord of Bit-parra, mizkin of ancient (*c.*) Eriḍu, who the religious festivals keeps(?), Bit-ḫansa of (*c.*) Zirgulla its site he restored, its great ramparts his hands made, Ur and Samas .... to their places he restored(?). The prince his begetter Bit-ṣarna for his life established .... in the service of his lord who marches before him(?), for the preservation of his life he built his house, also he restored its site, and the four houses of Saggal, for his preservation and the preservation of Kudur-mabuk the father his begetter, the house with rejoicing Bit-tingal he built, a statue before the house he ....."

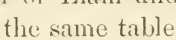
24. , Ri-im-a-gar-ū.

This king, who appears to be one of this series, is mentioned on an unpublished fragment in the British Museum. Yamutbal or Elam and the cities of Abnunna and Karrak occur on the same tablet, but the seat of the government of Rimagaru is not stated.

25.  , Ga-sin- . . . .

This monarch is only known as the father of Ṣin-idinnā.

26.  , Ṣin-i-din-na-ā.

 , Ṣin-i-din-nā.

Ṣin-idinna, by the character of his legends, is closely connected with Ardu-ṣin.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIN-IDINNA.

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. IX, from Senkereh.

". . . . king of Bit . . . . his king, Ṣin-idinna the powerful man, son of Gasin . . . . nourisher of (*c.*) Ur king of (*c.*) Larṣa, king of Sumir and Akkad."

C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XX, from Mugheir.

"Ṣin-idinna the powerful man, nourisher of (*c.*) Ur king of (*c.*) Larṣa, king of Sumir and Akkad, who the old house(?) to its place restored, in the throne of Larṣa he was firmly established, powerful soldiers were committed to his hand; a delightful river, the river Kibigana, for the use of the country he excavated, perrenial waters giving everlasting delight to his city and country, he has established. *Ka-ne-nam-kar-ra-ma-ni* (*g.*) Ur eldest son of Bel marching before him in war, to intelligent ears he has proclaimed his glory. In (*c.*) Ur his renown is established, Bit-nā-nun-na his delight to (*g.*) Ur he built."

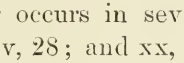
ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE, FROM SENKEREH.

"To (*g.*) Samas, the lord establisher of life, the powerful head of heaven, the highest of the spirits, his king; Ṣin-idinna the powerful man, nourisher of (*c.*) Ur, king of (*c.*) Larṣa king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-parra for his preservation splendidly built . . . . . he raised. By command of

(*g.*) Ur and Samas in Bit-parra and Bit-ner-gal Ṣin-idinna, for the glory of the spirits, festivals magnificently he celebrated."

At this time commences a series of dated tablets, which are of great interest, on account of the insight they give into the condition and history of Babylonia. These tablets, record sales and loans, all are written in the Turanian language, but *almost all* the names are written phonetically in Semitic; they show us that the method of dating in the current years of the reigning sovereign was not then in use, the customary method on most tablets being to date from some particular event which happened in the year. A similar method of dating occurs in several passages in the Bible, as Isaiah vi, 1; xiv, 28; and xx, 1. Some few tablets are dated in years of an era, and show us the earliest examples of the use of an era for chronological purposes.

One of these tablets in the reign of Ṣin-idinna has the following date:—"[Month] Abu [in the year] when to (*g.*) *Eri-ul-gar-ra* [bit-]ganki he built and ... of gold Ṣin-idinna king of Larṣa .... made."

27.  , **Nu-ur-vul.**

Nur-vul rebuilt some of the temples at Ur, and his inscription was found near those of Kudur-mabuk and Ardu-ṣin. Although Nur-vul ruled after the capital was transferred from Ur to Larṣa, the worship of Samas god of Larṣa, had not yet advanced sufficiently to cause his name to be united with that of Ur on the contract tablets, from which I infer that Nur-vul ruled soon after the capital was changed.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NUR-VUL.

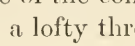
C.I., Vol. 1, p. 2, No. IV, from Mugheir.

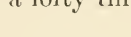
"To (*g.*) Ur his king, Nur-vul the powerful man, the ruler of (*c.*) Ur, king of (*c.*) Larṣa, Bit-rubmaḥ, Bit-minuni Bit-galzib to (*g.*) Ur and (*g.*) Ningal in (*c.*) Ur he built."

CHALDEAN CONTRACT TABLET OF THE REIGN OF NURVUL.

This tablet is a lease of some land for eight years, at the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ manehs of silver. The parties to the contract we are told, "By the name of (*g.*) Ur and Nur-vul the king

swore." The date of the contract was in the "month Ḍebitu in the year when a lofty throne with gold for (*g.*) Samas he decorated."

28.  , **Ai** ····

29.  , **A-mat-nim** ····

These are fragments of the names of the two predecessors of Sargon I, they are only known from the list printed in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65.

30. , **Ṣar-gi-na.**

Ṣargina I. or Sargon I, was one of the most celebrated of these ancient kings, and is often alluded to in the inscriptions. No original text of this reign is known, but we have two imperfect Assyrian copies of one of his inscriptions, part of which is printed C.I., Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII: a few new lines can now be added to this fragment, and part of the next column.

INSCRIPTION OF SARGON.

C.I., Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII.

"Ṣargina the powerful king, king of Agane am I. My mother was enceint, my father knew not [of it]. My father's brother oppressed the country. In the city of Azupirani, which by the side of the Euphrates is situated, she conceived me; my mother was enceint, and in a grove brought me forth; she placed me in a cradle of wicker, with bitumen my exit she closed, and launched me on the river, which away from her(?) carried me. The river to Akki the abal floated me, Akki the abal in tenderness of bowels(?) lifted me; Akki the abal as his child brought me up; Akki the abal as his husbandman placed me, and in my husbandry Ishtar prospered me ... 5 years, the kingdom I took. The people of the dark races I ruled, I .... over difficult countries, in chariots of bronze I rode. I governed the upper countries, [I rule (?)] the kings(?) of the lower countries, ... *ti-ti-sal-lat* I besieged a third time, Asmun submitted(?) Dur-an-ki-gal bowed ..... I destroyed and ..... When the king who

arises after me in after [days] ..... the people of the dark races [shall rule] over difficult countries in chariots of [bronze shall ride] shall govern the upper countries [and rule] the kings(?) of the lower countries ... *ti-ti-sal-lat* shall besiege the third time [Asmun submitting(?)] Dur-an-ki-gal bowing .... from my city Agane ...."

This is evidently the text of an usurper, who pretends to be the son of a former monarch. There is a striking parallel between some points in this story, and the account in Exodus ii, of the concealment of the infant Moses. Sargon is often mentioned on the astrological and omen tablets, and an edition of those works was probably written in his reign. Many of the inscriptions on these tablets appear to belong to an earlier epoch, when the city of Ur was the national capital, but all these were incorporated with the tablets of Sargon and his son Naram-ṣin, and formed two great works, one on astrology or celestial omens, the other on terrestria omens. He built a city called Dur-ṣargina, and we probably owe the preservation of this curious inscription, in which he states his early history, to the Assyrian king Sargon, who named himself after the earlier monarch, and also founded a city which he called Dur-ṣargina.

The further history of Sargon I, after he ascended the throne, is given on a tablet, which I did not discover until after the first part of this work had gone to press. This tablet, which is one of the most remarkable records in the British Museum, gives the history of Sargon and of his son and successor Naram-ṣin; it is divided into fourteen paragraphs, by lines drawn across the tablet, each paragraph containing the account of one war or other celebrated event. At the head of every paragraph is a description of the omen from the Moon under which the work was undertaken, for the Babylonians never started on an expedition, or commenced any work without consulting the omens; and even the great king Nebuchadnezzar is recorded (Ezekiel xxi, 21 and 22) to have done the same.

The first paragraph of the history of Sargon records a successful campaign in Elam, east of Babylonia, but Sargon does not appear to have met the Elamite monarch; the

barbarous custom of mutilating the bodies of the enemy was practised by the Babylonians in this war.

The second division records a campaign in Syria, in which the king was again successful. It appears from the statement in this paragraph, that the *kiprat arba*, or four races, were in Syria, and that the title "king of the four races" indicated supremacy over Syria. This name kiprat arba was probably given to the Syrians on account of there being four races or principal states in that region. A similar division is given in Genesis x, 23, where Aram (Syria) has four sons or divisions, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, corresponding with the four races of the Babylonian inscriptions.

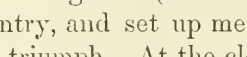
The third clause relates the subjugation of all Babylonia, and the foundation of the new capital city Agane, which Sargon peopled with the conquered races.

The fourth and fifth paragraphs relate campaigns in Syria; both are unfortunately much mutilated.

The sixth division is too mutilated to make much out of it; it may refer to a former period of the history.

The seventh clause records the greatest campaign of the reign, it occupied three years, and in it Sargon penetrated to the sea of the setting sun (the Mediterranean); here he conquered the country, and set up memorial statues in commemoration of his triumph. At the close of this expedition, the spoil of these distant regions was carried in triumph to Babylonia.

The eighth division records the enlargement of the palace of Agani by Sargon, who named it Ekiam-izillik.

The ninth paragraph gives an account of the revolt of  , Kas-tu-bi-li of Ka-zal-la, Sargon made an expedition to Kazalla, and wasted the country with fire and sword.

In the next division we find a change of fortune, Sargon, who had carried his arms from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, was now closely besieged in his own capital Agani, but he made a sally with his army, and, attacking the surrounding hosts, defeated them and obliged them to raise the siege and retire with the loss of their baggage. The besieging host is called by the name , which

I conjecturally read Kaldi or Chaldeans, but the meaning of the expression I should rather think to be "all countries."

The tenth paragraph shows Sargon resuming his career of conquest; he now attacked the kingdom of Ṣubartu and conquered it; he occupied their territory, destroyed their army, and finally entered his capital Agane with the spoil. The history of the reign of Sargon now closes, and the rest of this important inscription relates to the exploits of his son and successor Naram-sin.

The following is a translation of this inscription, omitting the astrological omens, several of which are imperfect, and all of them difficult.

1. "When the moon," &c., &c. An omen for Sargina,
   who at this position
2. to Elam marched, and the Elamites destroyed,
3. their overthrow he accomplished their limbs he cut off.

---

4. When the moon, &c., &c.
5. An omen for Sargina, who to Syria marched and
6. the Syrians destroyed; the four races his hand conquered.

---

7. When the moon, &c., &c.
8. An omen for Sargina, who at this position the whole of
   Babylonia subdued, and
9. the dust of the spoil of Babḍuna removed and .....
10. ... (*c*) Agane the city he built ..... ki its name he
    proclaimed
11. ..... in the midst he placed.

---

12. [When the moon], &c., &c.
13. &c. [An omen for Ṣargi]-na, who at this
    position to Syria
14. [marched, and the] four races his hand conquered.

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15. [When the moon], &c., &c.
16. [An omen for Sargina, who at this position to] Syria
    marched, and
17. ..... his ..... his leaders
18. ..... in the gate of his rising.

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19. [When the moon], &c., &c. [An omen for Ṣargi]-na,
    who at this position

20. . . . . *ri* his left hand? . . . . . Istar . . . . .
21. . . . . caused him to conquer; to the front his . . . .

22. [When the moon], &c., &c. An omen for Sargina, who at this position
23. . . . . arose, and an equal or rival had not, his forces over
24. [the countries of] the sea of the setting sun he crossed, and in the third year at the setting sun
25. . . . . his hand conquered, his command the place only fixed, his image at the setting sun
26. he set up, their spoil in the countries of the sea he made to cross.

27. [When the moon], &c., &c.
28. [An omen] for Sargina, who his palace *padi* five *baṭḫu* enlarged
29. . . . chief of the people(?) established and Ekiam-izallak he called it.

30. When the moon, &c., &c.
31. &c. The same. Kastu-bila of Kazalla revolted against him; and to Kazalla
32. he marched, and their men he fought against, their overthrow he accomplished,
33. their great army he destroyed; Kazalla to mounds and ruins he reduced,
34. the nests of the birds he swept away.

35. When the moon, &c., &c.
36. &c. An omen for Ṣargina, of whom at this position,
37. the host of the Kaldi(?) revolted against him, and in Agane surrounded him, and
38. Ṣargina came out and their men he fought against, their overthrow he accomplished,

REVERSE.

1. their great army he destroyed,
2. the encampment(?) he broke through.

3. When the moon, &c., &c.
4. &c. &c.

5. An omen for Ṣargina, who at this position
6. Ṣubarti in its strength its people to the sword he subdued, and
7. Ṣargina their seats caused to occupy, and
8. their men he fought against, their overthrow he accomplished, their great army
9. ... the spoil he collected, into (*c.*) Agane he caused to enter.

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10. When the moon, &c., &c.
11. &c. An omen for Naram-ṣin,
12. who at this position to (*c.*) Apirak marched, and
13. ..... *ip-lu-su* Ris-vul king of (*c.*) Apirak
14. ..... and (*c.*) Apirak his hand conquered.

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15. When the moon, &c., &c.
16. &c. An omen for Naram-ṣin, who at this position
17. [to Ma]-ganna marched, and Maganna he captured, and
18. ..... king of Maganna his hand conquered.

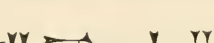
---

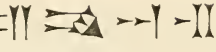
19. ..... seven and one-half to after him .....
20. ..... may they not gather *i-ba* .....

The tablet contains at the end a colophon, which states that it is a copy made by order of a king of Assyria, whose name is lost by a fracture.

Sargon, who was one of the most memorable of the early kings of Babylonia, was a great builder, as well as a warrior; besides the rebuilding of his palace at Agane, which is mentioned in this tablet, he also built a great temple at Agane, dedicated to the goddess Anunit. The site of the city of Agane has not yet been discovered, so at present we are not acquainted with the ruins of Sargon's buildings, but an account of the temple of Anunit is found in an inscription of Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon: his statement is as follows—C.I., Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 2, lines 29–32:—

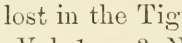
"[The memorial cylinders] of Bitulmas of (*c.*) Agane from the time of [Ṣar-gina] king of (*c.*) Babylon and Naram-ṣin his son the very ancient kings, to the time of Nabu-nahid king of (*c.*) Babylon were not seen."

31.  , Na-ra-am-sin.

 , Na-ram-sin.

Naram-ṣin the son and successor of Sargon is mentioned in the two last inscriptions. He appears by the historical tablet to have continued the conquests of his father, subjugating the kingdom of Apirak and afterwards that of Maganna. The name of the conquered king of Apirak is Ris-vul, which is Babylonian, and leads to the inference that Apirak was in or near Babylonia. Among the cities of Babylonia, the nearest name to Apirak is Karrak, which we know to have been a capital at this time. The reading Karrak is not quite certain, as the first character , *kar*, is a polyphone, so that the name may possibly be Apirak. Maganna was the most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt, and the conquest of this country might lead us to suspect that Naram-ṣin invaded Egypt: hence the loss of the name of the conquered king of Maganna is a misfortune; but there may have been another country called Magan, nearer to Babylonia, in the same way that in later times there were two countries named Muṣur. There is an inscription of Naram-ṣin on a vase which was discovered by M. Fresnel at Babylon, and since lost in the Tigris; the inscription, which is published in C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VII, reads, "Naram-ṣin king of the four races, conqueror of Apirak and Magan." A large omen tablet which was composed during this reign, has, with reference to one omen, the notice that it was "good" or "lucky for Naram-ṣin."

The fragment of inscription printed in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65, which gives the names of some of the Babylonian kings, does not contain the name of Naram-ṣin the successor of Sargon, but I attribute this to the imperfect state of the fragment.

32.  , Ellat-gula.

Ellat-gula was a queen, she probably succeeded Naram-ṣin and was the last of the dynasty of Ṣargon. Nothing is

known of her reign, and at its close Ḥammurabi a foreign prince, who was perhaps related to her by marriage, succeeded to her throne.

The history must now travel again to the south of the country which was ruled at this time by Rim-ṣin, the last native monarch.

33. , **Ri-im-ṣin.**

Rim-ṣin was the last king of Larsa: he has left several inscriptions, one of which is published, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 3, No. X, as follows:—

"To (*g.*) Nin .... *bil gal-lu dub-ba ram-e ki-ka-de zi-gal-zu luh-maḥ lib-ka-va* great god his command *si-ku-du* his king, Rim-ṣin ruler of the lordship of (*c.*) Nipur mizkin of ancient (*c.*) Eriḍu, nourisher of (*c.*) Ur and Bit-uddaimtiz, king of (*c.*) Larsa, king of Sumir and Akkad, worshipper of (*g.*) Anu (*g.*) Bel and (*g.*) Hea, the great gods who the ancient city of Uruk into my hands have given. To Nin- ..... my king, exalter of my right hand, Bit-daram-semu the sanctuary of his delight, for my preservation I built."

Besides this inscription there are several tablets dated in the reign of Rim-ṣin, which give us some notice of the events of his reign. Probably the earliest of these are the tablets dated in the year of the fall of Karrak. One of these has upon it part of the name of Rim-ṣin. Now this city of Karrak I have suspected to be the same as the Apirak taken by Naram-ṣin, and I further supposed that Rim-ṣin was the Turanian form of Naram-ṣin, but these are only suppositions and I have since considered them erroneous. It is more probable that Naram-ṣin ruled in the north of Babylonia, while Rim-ṣin ruled at Larsa over the south. Karrak appears to have retained its position as a capital, until it fell before the arms of Rim-ṣin, and was annexed to the kingdom of Larsa. Rim-ṣin from this date ruled the whole of the country from Nipur to the Persian Gulf. The dates in this year are as follows: "Month Niṣannu 25th day in the year when the powerful soldiers of (*g.*) Anu (*g.*) Bel and (*g.*) Hea (*c.*) Karrak the royal city captured"; and "Month Niṣannu(?)

30th day in the year when the [powerful] soldiers of [Anu] (*g.*) Bel and (*g.*) Hea (*c.*) Karrak the royal city captured." In both these dates the month is uncertain; but I may here remark that I suspect, from the dates on some of these tablets, that the year at this time commenced with the month Tisri at the autumnal equinox, instead of with the month Nisan at the vernal equinox; for in two instances on these early tablets the intercalary month is placed between Elul and Tisri.

The Babylonians attached so great an interest to the capture of Karrak that they commenced dating from it as an era, and the following dates from it are in the British Museum; all of these fall within the reign of Rim-ṣin:—

"Month Ululu in the fifth year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Addaru 30th day in the sixth year after Karrak was captured." In this tablet Rim-ṣin bears the title "King of (*c.*) Larsa and (*c.*) Ur."

"Month Addaru 30th day in the seventh year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Niṣannu in the eighth year after Karrak [was captured]."

"Month Tasritu 30th day in the thirteenth year after Karrak by the living ruler Rim-ṣin was captured."

"Month Sabaḍu in the eighteenth year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Sabaḍu 10th day in the twenty-eighth year after Karrak was captured."

Beside the dates from the era of the taking of Karrak, there are several others of the time of Rim-ṣin. Two of these are dated in the year when Rim-ṣin placed two bronze statues in the Temple of the Sun, they are:—

"Month Duvazu in the year when two bronze statues Rim-ṣin the king in Bit-parra placed."

"Month Sabaḍu in the year when two bronze statues Rim-sin the king in Bit-parra placed."

Another tablet is dated, "Month Duvazu in the year when the river Ud-kas-nun(?) was excavated."

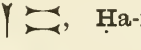
And two others, "Month Tasritu in the year when the great wall of Bellu was built."

In the case of one document the inside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris was excavated"; while the outside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris, the river of the Gods, to the ocean was excavated." From these notices I suppose that Rim-ṣin (whose name is attached to all these documents) made a channel from the Tigris to the sea.

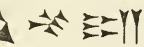
Another document is dated as follows: "Month Sabaḍu in the year when (*c.*) Kisure he occupied and his powerful warriors (*g.*) Bel gave him in numbers and (*c.*) Dur-an he conquered."

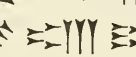
This notice refers to a war in Upper Babylonia, both Kisure and Dur-an being in that part of the country: there is no clue at present as to the date of this war.

Two of the last documents of the reign of Rim-ṣin point to an invasion of South Babylonia by the king of the upper country, most probably Ḥammurabi. This first incursion Rim-ṣin claims to have repulsed. These documents are dated, one, "Month Kiṣilivu in the year when Rim-ṣin the king the evil enemy"—here there seems a word wanting. The other is dated, "Month Sabaḍu in the year when Rim-ṣin the king (*g.*) Nin-maḫe of Bit-saptu-mur (?) the foundation of heaven and earth ..... the kingdom and people ..... and the evil enemy of the upper region to his presence did not return." The history of the next monarch Ḥammurabi, shows however, that Rim-ṣin allied himself with the Elamites, but was ultimately defeated by Ḥammurabi, who then united the whole of Babylonia under one sceptre.

34.  , Ḥa-mu-ra-bi.

, Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi.

 , Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi.

 , Ḥa-am-mu-ū-ra-bi.

Ellat-gula the last sovereign of the race of Sargon had been succeeded in Akkad by a foreigner named Ḥammurabi. The tribe to which Ḥammurabi belonged is not stated in the inscriptions, but as one of the kings of this dynasty is

called king of the Kassi, and as the Kassi are stated in the Synchronous History to have been predominent in Babylonia at that time, I suppose he belonged to that tribe. Of the circumstances under which he ascended the throne we know nothing; his reign forms, however, one of the most remarkable epochs in Babylonian history. In spite of the brilliant reigns of Sargon and Naram-ṣin, who ruled in Upper Babylonia, the most important seats of dominion had hitherto been in the lower country. With the reign of Ḥammurabi all this was changed. On ascending the throne of the house of Sargon, Ḥammurabi fixed his capital at a city then called Dindur, which was hereafter named Bab-ili or "The Gate of God." This city was the Babel of the Bible, the renowned city of Babylon. From the time when Ḥammurabi fixed his court at Babylon, that city continued to be the capital of the country down to the time of the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians. The deity chosen by Ḥammurabi as the head of his worship and the god of his capital was Maruduk or Merodach, who, according to the Babylonian system of mythology, was the son of Hea, the sea god or Neptune, the presiding deity of the city of Eriḍu.

To Merodach a grand temple was erected at Babylon, called Bit-saggal. This temple was most probably built by Ḥammurabi, as it was already in existence in the reign of his successor Ṣamṣu-iluna. The account of the building of this temple is found on a mutilated tablet written in the two languages, Turanian and Semitic, which probably belongs to this reign. I translate it as the first text of Ḥammurabi:—

". . . . . Babylon . . . . . people he made
[Bit-sagga]l in the gate of the deep a delightful house he built,
that [house] with shouting and joy he completed,
its head to the heaven he raised.
. . . . . in the gate of the sea worship and delightful devotion to the image of his divinity he caused to be offered.
[To Maruduk] and Zirpanit a shrine beautiful and delightful [he made, and in] a firm seat he seated them.
. . . . . to his heart he opened
. . . . . good he . . . . . .

. . . . . joy he established
. . . . . music night and day he caused [to be performed]
. . . . . head of the country he established."

The "gate of the deep," here mentioned, was probably in the district of Babylon next the Euphrates, where the great temple of Merodach, or Bel, was built.

After obtaining possession of Northern Babylonia, or Akkad, and fixing his capital at Babylon, Ḥammurabi made war on the southern portion of the country, then ruled by Rim ṣin. His first attack was probably the invasion which Rim-ṣin claims to have repulsed; if so, however, this success only gave a short breathing time to the kingdom of Rim-ṣin. Ḥammurabi again attacked him; and, although the king of Larṣa called in the aid of the Elamites, he and his allies were defeated in a decisive battle by Ḥammurabi, who now took possession of the rest of the country. The triumph of Ḥammurabi is recorded in the two following inscriptions:—

"Month Sabaḍu 22nd day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king in the service of (*g.*) Anu and (*g.*) Bel triumphantly marched, and the lord of Elam and king Rim-ṣin he overthrew."

And—

"Month Niṣannu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king in the service of (*g.*) Anu and (*g.*) Bel triumphantly marched."

From this year, when Ḥammurabi took possession of Larṣa, the dated tablets record the principal events of his reign; some of these show that in one year he proclaimed or announced the worship of a goddess named Urmitu, who is not mentioned until this time. Urmitu was named the consort of Nabu or Nebo, the son of Ḥammurabi's great divinity Maruduk. These tablets are as follows:—

"Month Ululu 10th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Urmitu proclaimed."

"Month Ululu 21st day in the year when (*g.*) Urmitu he proclaimed."

"Month Samna 13th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Urmitu proclaimed."

"Month Ḍebitu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Urmitu proclaimed."

"Month Sabaḍu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Urmitu proclaimed."

"Month Tasritu 4th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Urmitu proclaimed."

"Month Ḍebitu 10th day in the year when (*g.*) Urmitu."

Another section of these tablets commemorates the year when Ḥammurabi restored the temple of Mite-urris at the city of Kis; here he built, in addition to the temple, a Ziggurrat or tower, dedicated to the deity Zamama, the top of which, in the figurative language of the Babylonians, is said to have reached unto heaven. This Ziggurrat afterwards bore the name of the "tower of the country," and is now represented by the mound of Hymer, north-east of Babylon. The tablets of this year read:—

"Month Airu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king Bit-mite-urris restored."

"Month Airu 23rd day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king Bit-mite-urris restored."

"Month Ululu 10th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king Bit-mite-urris restored."

"Month Airu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king Bit-mite-urris restored, and the great tower of (*g.*) Zamama the spirit, its top reaching to heaven he built."

"Month Addaru 4th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king Bit-mite-urris restored, and the great tower of (*g.*) Zamama the spirit, its top reaching to heaven he built."

Three of the dated tablets of the reign of Ḥammurabi refer to some decoration or work executed for the deities Anu, Anunit, and Nana. The dates of this year I read with some doubt.

"Month Sabaḍu 13th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king to (*g.*) Anu (*g.*) Anunit and (*g.*) Nana . . . . . adorned and Bit-silim-kalamma he restored."

"Month Addaru in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Anu (*g.*) Anunit and (*g.*) Nana adorned."

"Month Addaru in the year of (*g.*) Anu (*g*) Anunit and (*g*) Nana."

The next three dates record a calamity which was always liable to occur in the districts overflowed by the rivers.

One of these annual inundations in the time of Ḥammurabi carried away the city of Mullias. These dates are:—

"Month Samna in the year when Mullias by a great flood was destroyed."

The second document has the same date and wording. The third is:—

"Month Tasritu in the year when Mullias by a great flood was destroyed."

Three other dated tablets were inscribed in the year when Ḥammurabi built a wall or embankment along the River Tigris, probably to restrain the inundation; this wall he named Te-a-ra-samas.

"Month Ḍebitu in the year when the great wall Teara-samas he built."

"Month Ḍebitu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king the great wall Teara-samas built."

"Month Ululu in the year when Ḥammurabi the king a great wall along the Tigris, its top like a mountain raised, Biara-samas its name is called; he built it."

The two remaining dated tablets of this reign record the destruction of the walls of Mairu, Malalnak, and Kitu by Ḥammurabi, probably in some of his military expeditions. These dates are:—

"Month of Abu 13th day in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (by command of (*g.*) Bel) the wall of (*c.*) Mairu and the wall of (*c.*) Malalnak destroyed."

"Month Kiṣilivu 25th day in the year when by command of (*g.*) Bel the side of the wall of Kitu was destroyed."

Besides the inscriptions on these dated tablets there are five other texts of Ḥammurabi. The principal of these is the Semitic Inscription at Paris, translations of which have been published by M. Menant and Mr. Fox Talbot. This inscription commemorates the excavating of a canal, in that country a most important work. I translate it as follows:—

"Ḥammurabi the powerful king, king of Babylon, the king renowned through the four races, conqueror of the enemies of Maruduk, the ruler the delight of his heart am I. When Anu and Bel the people of Sumir and Akkad to my dominion gave, powerful adversaries into my hand they

delivered. The river Ḥammurabi-nuḫus-nisi (Ḥammurabi the delight of men) flowing waters giving pleasure to the people of Sumir and Akkad I excavated, the whole of its banks to its course I restored, the entire channel I filled, perrenial waters for the people of Sumir and Akkad I established.

"The people of Sumir and Akkad their chief men I gathered, authority and possessions I established to them, delight and pleasure I spread out to them, in luxurious seats I seated them. Then I Ḥammurabi the powerful king blessed by the great gods; with the powerful forces which Maruduk gave me, a great wall with much earth, its top like a mountain raised, along the river Ḥammurabi-nuḫus-nisi I made."

There are eight other lines much mutilated. I feel uncertain about the restoration of this part of the inscription. The high wall or embankment here mentioned may be the same as the one mentioned in the dated tablets.

The next inscription of Ḥammurabi is on a tablet in the British Museum, printed in C.I., Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XV, 1, from the city of Zarilab, where he built a temple to the principal goddess of the place:—

"To (*g.*) Nana of (*c.*) Zarilab mistress of worship, glory of of heaven and earth, his lady, Ḥammurabi proclaimed by (*g.*) Anu and (*g.*) Bel, blessed by (*g.*) Samas, the joy of the heart of Maruduk, delight of the heart of Nana, the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four races, king of regions which the great gods in his hands have placed. When (*g.*) Nana the people of Sumir and Akkad to his dominion gave, his enemies (?) into his hands she delivered. To (*g.*) Nana his delight, in (*c.*) Zarilab the city of her royalty, her delightful house he built."

The allusions in these inscriptions to his enemies being delivered into his hand when he took the dominion of Sumir and Akkad, probably refer to his triumph over Rim-ṣin.

Another inscription of Ḥammurabi, C.I., p. 4, No. XV, 2, is found on bricks from the Ziggurrat or tower attached to the Temple of the Sun at Larṣa, which he built. This inscription reads:—

"Ḥammurabi the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Babylon,

king of the four races, builder of Bit-parra, the Temple of the Sun in the city of Larsa."

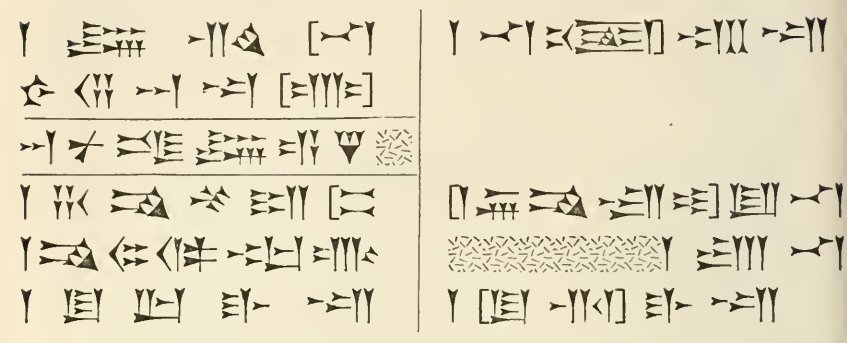
Respecting this tower of Ḥammurabi there is a fragmentary passage in the broken cylinder of Nabonidus, C.I., Vol. I, p. 69, col. 2, line 4, which is very curious. It reads:—

". . . . . for 700 years was not [finished its building] a tower over [that memorial cylinder] to (*g.*) Samas he had built within [it] . . . . . my heart delighted in the matter, from round the cylinder which Ḥammurabi [had made], not a particle had escaped, not a particle had entered."

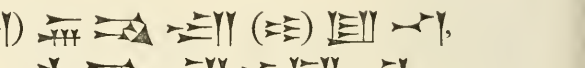
This fragmentary passage refers to a cylinder of Ḥammurabi which, according to Nabonidus, was found intact in its chamber in the corner of the tower. According to the statement on the cylinder, the building had been founded 700 years before the time of Ḥammurabi; and, as it was founded by Urukh, this must be taken as an indication that Ḥammurabi considered that monarch to have lived 700 years before his time.

At the city of Kilmad, now Kalwadha, near Baghdad, Ḥammurabi built a palace; and some bronze rings have been found there with the inscription, "Palace of Ḥammurabi." The remaining inscription of this monarch is on a fragment of black stone found by Ker Porter in the ruin of Hymer, north-east of Babylon. This mound, as before noted, marks the site of the tower built by Ḥammurabi to the deity Zamama. So far as the dated tablets go, they would seem to indicate that the reign of Ḥammurabi was short, as there are only tablets made in about ten years of his reign, and along with them tablets of about ten years of the reign of his supposed successor Ṣamṣu-iluna. Now it is singular that the name of Ṣamṣu-iluna is absent from the list of these kings on the tablet of royal names already quoted. For several reasons I have suspected that the name Ṣamṣu-iluna is only a translation of Ḥammu-rabi, for all the kings of this dynasty appear to have had two names, one their name in their own language, the other its equivalent in the Babylonian tongue. Since the publication of the list of kings, I have found a small fragment of what appears to

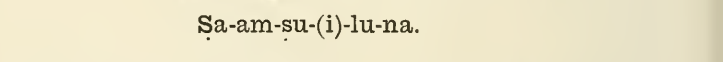
have been a duplicate; from this I can partially restore this part of the list as follows :—



Here Ṣamṣu-iluna is on the same line as Ḥammurabi, and, judging from the other names on the tablet, should be its equivalent; but as this, although probable, is not proved, I have entered Ṣamṣu-iluna here as a separate monarch pending further evidence on the subject.

35. 

Ṣa-am-ṣu-(i)-lu-na.

 Ṣa-am-ṣu-i-lu-an.

The name of Ṣamṣu-iluna, although as common on the dated contract tablets as that of Ḥammu-rabi, is never found on any public monument, possibly because Ḥammurabi was the real name of the monarch. The dated tablets of the reign of Ṣamṣu-iluna give us the following facts of his reign.

A number of these tablets relate to one year when he excavated a canal, called in these inscriptions the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi.

These dates are :—

"Month Airu 6th day in the year when the river of Ṣamṣu-iluna the river Nagab-nuḫsi [he excavated]."

"Month Airu 12th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Abu in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Ululu 3rd day in the year when the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi he excavated."

"Month Ululu 15th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Ululu 30th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Samna 4th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Ḍebitu in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

"Month Sabaḍu 5th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the river Ṣamṣu-iluna-nagab-nuḫsi excavated."

This canal is mentioned in a list of rivers and canals printed in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 51.

Another series of these tablets records the raising of a mound or wall, and the digging of a canal round the city of Sargon; these tablets are as follows:—

"Month Tasritu 8th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the circuit of Ṣargina a mound and canal round its sides for its protection (?) he raised."

"Month Niṣannu 5th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king [the circuit] of Ṣargina [a canal] and mound round its sides (?)."

"Month the second Ululu in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the circuit of Ṣargina a mound and canal round its sides."

"Month Tasritu 8th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king the circuit of Ṣargina a mound and canal round its sides."

The devotion of Ṣamṣu-iluna to the worship of the Babylonian divinities is shown by a number of these tablets, which relate that he made figures of *lamazi* or cherubim, as emblems of the deities Shamas and Merodach: these were overlaid with gold, and placed some in the temple Bit-saggal at Babylon before the presence of Merodach, and others

in the temple of the Sun at Larsa before the presence of Shamas. The dates are :—

"Month Samna 10th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king; of Samas and Maruduk their emblems made, images he carved of cherubim overlaid with gold, in Bit-parra before the presence of Samas, and in Bit-saggal before the presence of Maruduk he placed."

"Month Samna 24th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king; of Samas and Maruduk their emblems made, images he carved of cherubim overlaid with gold, in Bit-parra before the presence of Samas, and in Bit-saggal before the presence of Maruduk he placed."

"Month Tasritu 10th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold."

"Month Tasritu 15th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold."

"Month Tasritu 20th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold."

"Month Samna 20th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king images carved of cherubim overlaid with gold."

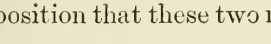
Two other tablets appear to refer to the year of accession of Ṣamṣu-iluna, and are probably to be placed earlier than the tablets translated above; these are :—

"Month Kiṣiliou in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king, by the august will of Maruduk to the supremacy of the countries was raised."

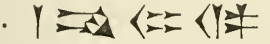
"Month Samna 30th day in the year when Ṣamṣu-iluna the king, by the august will of Maruduk."

There are four other dates from events in the reign of Ṣamṣu-iluna: these it is at present difficult to translate literally: one is dated in the month Nisannu, 20th day, in a year when Ṣamṣu-iluna dedicated a statue adorned with gold and silver in the temple of Merodach; and two others refer to a throne which the monarch dedicated to the deity Ur; the fourth date is unintelligible at present. It will be seen by these dated tablets, that the works and events recorded in the reign of Ṣamṣu-iluna are not the same as those in the reign of Ḥammurabi, even the canal excavated by Ṣamṣu-iluna having a different name to the one excavated by

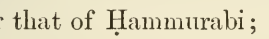
Ḥammurabi. These facts form a strong argument against my supposition that these two names represent the same monarch.

36.  **Am-mi-di-ka-ga.**

The name of Ammidi-kaga occurs in the list of kings after that of Ḥammurabi; he is not otherwise known.

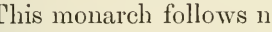
37.  **Ku-ur-gal-zu.**

This monarch follows next in the list. There are several monuments bearing the name of Kuri-galzu or Kur-galzu, but they appear to belong to a later king of the same name.

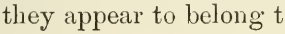
38.  **Ṣim-mas-si-ḥu.**

 Ṣi-im-mas-si-ḥu.

The name of this king follows Kur-galzu in the list, and a tablet dated in his twelfth year is in the British Museum. This tablet records that three brothers named Muranu, Gatiya, and Musallimu, sons of Bel-uṣati, were slaves of Bēā son of Iriba-ṣin, and were sold by him to separate masters; the transaction being dated in "The month Ḍebitu, 12th day, 12th year of Ṣimmas-siḥu the king."

39.  **U-lam-bur-ya-a-as.**

Ulam-buryas succeeded Ṣimmas-siḥu, according to the list, but he has left no monuments.

40.  **Na-zi-uru-das.**

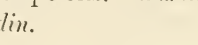
Nazi-urudas, the next king in the list, has also left no records.

41. **Mi-li-si-ḥu.**

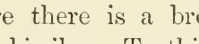
Mili-siḥu follows Nazi-urudas, according to the list. The first element in the name Mili is equivalent to *nisu*, "a man."

42. , **Bur-na-bur-ya-a-as.**

This monarch is probably the first bearing the name Burna-buryas; a later king of the same name has left some inscriptions. *Burna* is equivalent to the Assyrian *ki-din.*

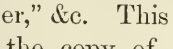
43.  , **Ka-ara(?)-bel.**

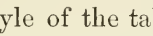
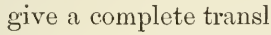
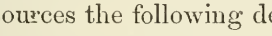
This name is the last in our fragmentary list of monarchs; here there is a break in the succession, until we come to Ḥarbi-siḫu. To this interval perhaps belongs the following monarch:—

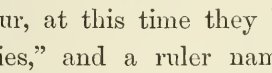
44.  , **Sa-ga-sal-ti-ya-as.**

Saga-saltiyas is mentioned in an inscription of Nabonidus, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 3, lines 19 to 43; he appear to have rebuilt the temples of the Sun and Venus at Sippara. The passage is as follows: "..... digging the memorial cylinder of Bit-ulmas ..... written record of Saga-saltiyas .... [in] that digging I saw also ... his written record, recorded: '[Saga-saltiyas] the supreme ruler, the glorious prince .... am I. When (*g.*) Samas and (*g.*) Anunit to the dominion of the country my name proclaimed, the power of all people in my hand they placed. Then Bit-parra the house of (*g.*) Samas of (*c.*) Ṣippara my lord, and Bit-ulmas the house of Anunit of (*c.*) Ṣippara, (*g.*) Anunit my lady, which were from the time of Zabū in ancient days; their chamber walls had fallen in. Their chamber walls I destroyed, their foundations I opened, the earth I removed, their chambers I cleared, their structure I caused to make, I filled their foundations with earth, I restored their walls to their places. I beautified their structure, greater than before I caused them to be, to please (*g.*) Samas and (*g.*) Anunit. At my building(?) work may their heart rejoice ... progress to my days may they give, exaltation to my head ..... prosperity to my years, giving delight for ever .... supremacy of the temple(?) justice may they give, long life may they grant me(?).' This is the

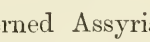
written record of Saga-saltiyas king of Babylon the former king, who Bit-ulmas of Ṣippara to Anunit built; his memorial cylinder," &c. This text is remarkable, as in it Nabonidus gives the copy of the record of Saga-saltiyas, which he states that he found when digging the foundations of Bit-ulmas.

45.  , **Ḥar-bi-si-ḥu.**

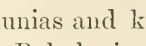
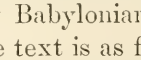
This king is mentioned on an Assyrian tablet, which gives an account of some controversies between Babylonia and Assyria The style of the tablet is very difficult, and I cannot give a complete translation, but I gather from this and other sources the following details. Assyria had been rising in power. Its first rulers were called pateṣi or "viceroys" of Assur, at this time they had assumed the title "lord of countries," and a ruler named  , Assur-zikir-esir governed Assyria; he was succeeded by  (otherwise written ), Ninip-tugulu-assur, who has the title "lord of countries," and who was engaged in the controversy with Ḥarbi-siḥu.

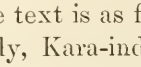
46.  , **Ka-ra-in-da-as.**

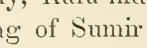
Cir. B.C. 1475.

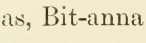
With this monarch, who reigned in the 15th century B.C., Babylonian history becomes a little more certain. Kara-indas was the contemporary of  , Assur-bel-nisi-su, king of Assyria. These two monarchs, whose dominions joined, came to an agreement respecting the boundary line of their respective dominions; this transaction is described in a tablet called "The Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia," published in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65. The affairs of Kara-indas are related in col. 1, lines 1 to 4, as follows:—"Kara-indas king of Kar-dunias, and Assur-bel-

nisi-su king of Assyria, a covenant in their borders with each other covenanted, and a pledge concerning those boundaries to each other gave." There are two unpublished inscriptions of Kara-indas in the British Museum, in which he takes the titles king of Kar-dunias and king of the Kassu (or Kassi). These are the only Babylonian inscriptions in which these two titles occur; the text is as follows:—"To (*g.*) Nana lady of Bit-anna, his lady, Kara-indas the powerful king, king of (*c.*) Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of Kassū, king of Karu-duniyas, Bit-anna the house built."

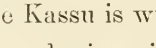
The name of the Kassu is written  , Ka-as-su-u, and Karu-duniyas is written  , Ka-ru-du-ni-ya-as.

47.  , **Bur-na-bur-ya-as.**

 , **Bur-na-bu-ri-ya-as.**

 , **Bur-na-bur-ya-a-as.**

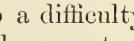
Cir. B.C. 1450.

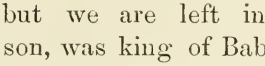
This monarch, the successor of Kara-indas, was contemporary with  , Buzur-assur king of Assyria, he continued the treaty with Assyria. The Synchronous History speaks of him as follows, lines 5 to 7: "Buzur-assur king of Assyria and Burna-buryas king of Kar-dunias, settled, and those respective boundaries established." There is an inscription of Burna-buryas from the Temple of the Sun at Larsa.

INSCRIPTION OF BURNA-BURYAS, FROM SENKEREH.

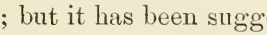
C.I., Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XIII.

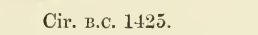
"To Samas great lord of heaven and earth, the powerful ruler, the living spirit of Larsa, his king, Burna-buriyas the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-parra the old house, which in remote days had been constructed, he built, its site he restored." This old house, constructed in remote days, was the temple built by Urukh, some of the foundation bricks of which still remain.

We now come to a difficulty; the Synchronous History informs us that the next king of Assyria,  , Assur-ubaliḍ, married his daughter to the king of Babylon; but we are left in doubt whether Burna-buryas, or his son, was king of Babylon at this time; a son of Burna-buryas named Kuri-galzu or Durigalzu, has left some monuments; but it has been suggested that he was placed on the throne some years later by the Assyrians.

48.  , **Ka-ra-ḥar-da-as.**

Cir. B.C. 1425.

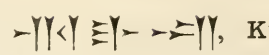
Kara-ḥardas was the offspring of the marriage between  , Muballiḍat-serua, daughter of Assur-ubaliḍ king of Assyria and the king of Babylon, and he ascended the Babylonian throne; but the Kassi made a revolt against him, and murdered him, and placed an usurper named Nazi-bugas on the throne. The account in the Synchronous History, lines 8 to 12, is: "In the time of Assur-ubaliḍ king of Assyria, Kara-ḥardas king of Kar-dunias son of Muballiḍat-serua daughter of Assur-ubaliḍ; the men of the Kasse revolted and slew him. Nazi-bugas a man of low parentage to the kingdom to be over them they raised."

49.  , **Na-zi-bu-ga-as.**

Cir. B.C. 1400

Under this reign, we are informed in the Synchronous History that a king of Assyria (whose name is lost by the mutilation of the tablet) made an expedition to Babylonia, defeated and slew Nazi-bugas, and placed some relative of Burna-buriyas on the throne; this passage is in lines 13 to 17, as follows:—

". . . . . to avenge [Kara-ḥardas] to Kar-dunias marched, [Nazi-bugas king of Kar-du]-nias he slew, [Durri-galzu (?) son of Bur]na-buryas [in the throne he seated]."

50.  Ku-ri-gal-zu.

Ku-ur-gal-zu.

Cir. B.C. 1375.

The passage given above I have restored, inserting the name of Kuri-galzu, who is known to have been the son of Burna-buriyas. Kuri-galzu restored many of the old Babylonian temples and built a city which was named after himself Dur-kuri-galzu.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KURI-GALZU.

From Mound of Tel Aswad (Akkerkuf), C.I., Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XIV, 1.

"To (*g.*) Bel king of the earth, his king, Kuri-galzu high priest of (*g.*) Bel, Bit-u-gal of his delight its tower he has built."

C.I., W.A., Vol. 1, p. 4, No. XIV, 2 and 3.

"(To (*g.*) Ur his king), Kuri-galzu high priest of (*g.*) Bel, the powerful king, king of Sumir and Akkad, king of the four races, Bit-rub-mah the old house, which from remote days had been long constructed, I built, its site I restored."

(This building had been founded by Urukh, restored by Ismi-dagan, again restored by Kudur-mabuk, and was now rebuilt by Kuri-galzu; bricks of all four epochs were found on the spot by explorers).

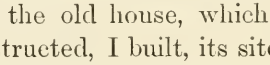
On circular ornament:—

"Kuri-galzu king of nations son of Burna-buriyas king of (*c.*) Babylon."

On pupil of eye from statue:—

"To (*g.*) Maruduk his king, Kuri-galzu son of Burna-buriyas, made."

From the time of Kuri-galzu there is a break in the history of Babylonia, and we know nothing of its rulers until we come to

51.  Tugulti-ninip.

Cir. B.C. 1300.

Tugulti-ninip was king of Assyria and conquered Babylonia, thus uniting the whole Euphrates valley under one sceptre A fragmentary inscription of Tugulti-ninip is in

the British Museum, but he is chiefly known by the notices of his reign in the inscriptions of two later kings; these are:—

1. Extract from the Genealogy of Vul-nirari III, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 35, No. III, lines 19, 20:—

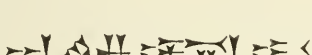
"Descendant of Tugulti-ninip king of Assyria king of Sumir and Akkad."

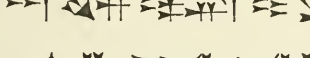
2. Tablet of Sennacherib, C.I., Vol. 3, p. 4, No. II:—

"Tugulti-ninip king of nations, son of Saliman-usur king of Assyria, conqueror of Kar-dunias. The destroyer of my writing and my record, may Assur and Vul his name from his country root out ....."

This was upon the seal of zamat stone:—

"This seal from Assyria to Akkad in war was carried off. I Ṣin-aḥi-iriba king of Assyria, after 600 years Babylon conquered, and from the goods of Babylon caused it to be brought out."

52.  , **Vul-pal-i-din-nā.**

 , **Vul-pal-i-di-nā.**

This monarch, who has left two inscriptions, is, I believe, the king whose mutilated name is found in a fragment of the Synchronous History, printed in C.I., Vol. 3, p. 4, No. III, lines 19 to 24.

This passage is as follows:—

"Bel-kudur-uzur king of Assyria ..... had slain Bel-kudur-uzur. Vul-[pal-idinna(?)] ..... in the midst of the war also Ninip-pal-esir ..... to his country returned. His numerous warriors [he gathered and] to (*c*) Assur to capture it he marched, [Ninip-pal-esir(?)] in his camp attacked him and overcame him, and [to his country he returned]."

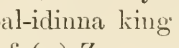
This passage appears to mention the killing of Bel-kudur-uzur king of Assyria, and a war between his successor Ninip-pal-esir and the king of Babylon. The Babylonian monarch advancing to capture Assur the capital

of Assyria, where he was attacked and driven back by the Assyrian king.

An inscription of Vul-pal-iddina is published C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XXII, from Hymer:—

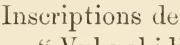
"Vul-pal-idinna king of (*c.*) Babylon Bit-mite-urris the tower (?) of (*g.*) Zamama . . . built . . . . ."

There is a second inscription of Vul-pal-iddina printed in Oppert's "Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan," which I translate as follows:—"Vul-pal-idinna king of (*c.*) Babylon built Nimit-maruduk the wall, and the ditch of the wall of (*c.*) Nipur to Bel his lord."

53.  , **Za-ma-ma-zikir-iddina.**

Cir. B.C. 1200.

In the time of this monarch, Assur-dān king of Assyria son of Ninip-pal-eser, invaded Babylonia and ravaged the country, carrying the spoil to Assyria. This is recorded in the Synchronous History, C.I., Vol. 3, p. 4, lines 25 to 28. "In the time of Zamama-zikir-iddina king of [Kar-dunias], Assur-dān king of Assyria to Kar-dunias [marched], the cities of Zabā, Irriya, and Agarṣal [he captured, and] [their spoil] in abundance to Assyria [he carried]."

54.  , **Nabu-kudur-uzur.**

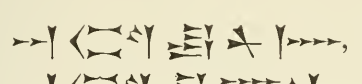
Cir. B.C. 1150.

Nabu-kudur-uzur, or Nebuchadnezzar I, was contemporary with Assur-risilim king of Assyria, grandson of the Assur-dān mentioned above. Nebuchadnezzer invaded Assyria three times; the details of two of these invasions are given in the Synchronous History; the account of the first is unfortunately lost. The history runs as follows:—

C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65, col. 2, lines 1 to 13.

". . . . . and to his country returned. After this Nabu-[kudur-uzur] his *nibise* took, to the Zanqi border of Assyria to capture he marched, Assur-risilim king of Assyria his chariots gathered to march against him, Nabu-kudur-uzur when the *nibise* would not advance, his baggage in the fire

burned, and was compelled to return to his country. Nabu-kudur-uzur his chariots and charioteers to the Idi border of Assyria to capture marched, Assur-risilim his chariots and charioteers to the assistance sent, with him he fought, his overthrow he accomplished, his warriors he slew; his army he forsook, fifty of his chariots and harness they had taken, a standard going before him they had taken."

55.  **Maruduk-nadin-aḥi.**

Cir. B.C. 1125.

Maruduk-nadin-aḥi governed Babylon during the time of Tugulti-pal-esir king of Assyria, son of Assur-risilim. He twice made war with Assyria; the first time he defeated Tiglath-Pileser and captured the city of Ekali, carrying away the images of the Assyrian gods Vul and Sala; these images remained in the hands of the Babylonians 418 years, until they were recovered by Sennacherib on his conquest of Babylon. The notice of this war is found in the Bavian Inscription of Sennacherib, C.I., Vol. 3, p. 14, lines 48 to 50. "Vul and Sala the gods of Ekali which Maruduk-nadin-ahi king of Akkad, in the time of Tugulti-pal-esir king of Assyria, had carried off and brought to Babylon, after 418 years from Babylon I brought them out and to Ekali to their places I restored them."

The Synchronous History of Babylonia and Assyria gives no details of this war, which was disastrous to the Assyrian arms, but it records a second campaign commenced by a battle in the neighbourhood of the lower Zab, in which Tiglath-Pileser recovered the advantage, and, pursuing Maruduk-nadin-aḥi into Babylonia, overran the whole of the upper country as far as Babylon; this account is given C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65, col. 2, lines 14 to 24: "Tugulti-pal-esir king of Assyria with Maruduk-nadin-aḥi king of Kar-dunias, the second time the line of battle of all the chariots, over against the city of the lower Zab, in the vicinity of Ar-zuḥina made. In the second year in the whole of upper Akkad he destroyed,

the cities Dur-kurigalzu, Ṣippar of Samas, Ṣippar of Anunit, Babili, and Upe, great cities, and their fortresses, at that time from (*c.*) Agarṣal to (*c.*) Lubdi he spoiled, from Ṣuḥi (Shua) to (*c.*) Rapiqi through its whole extent [he conquered]."

In the British Museum there are two contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-aḥi, one is published C.I., Vol. 1, p. 66, the date is "City of Babylon month Sabaḍu in the first year of Maruduk-nadin-aḥi the king." The second is published in C.I., Vol. 3, p. 43, dated "City of Dindu .... month Ululu 27th day, 10th year of Maruduk-nadin-aḥi the king." This document is interesting, from the number of witnesses to the contract.

56.

Maruduk-sa-pi-ik-zir-rat.

Cir. B.C. 1100.

This monarch was contemporary with Assur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, who was son of Tiglath-Pileser I. In the time of these monarchs, the two states of Babylonia and Assyria were on friendly terms, but on the death of Maruduk-sapik-zirrat the Babylonians raised to the throne a man, part only of whose name is preserved.

57. ..... **sad-u-ni.**

Cir. B.C. 1080.

This monarch appears not to have been of royal race, and his accession broke the truce which had existed between Assyria and Babylonia; Assur-bel-kala king of Assyria then invaded Babylonia, and claims to have returned to Assyria with the spoil of the expedition. These events are recorded in the following passage from the Synchronous History, C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65, line 25, added to by a new fragment:—

"In the time of Assur-bel-kala king of Assyria [and] Maruduk-sapik-zirrat king of Babylonia [a treaty(?)] concluding peace [with] each other they made. [In the time of Assur-bel]-kala king of Assyria [Maruduk-sapik-zirrat king of] Kar-dunias his death took him ..... saduni of unknown parentage [to the kingdom over] them they appointed.

[Assur-bel-kala] king of Assyria [to Kar-duni]-as went, [their spoil] to Assyria he brought ....."

58. **Nabu-zikir-iskun.**

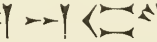
Cir. B.C. 1050.

This monarch is mentioned in a fragmentary passage of the Synchronous History, which states that in his time the Assyrians invaded Babylonia and took some cities, including Bag-dadu (modern Baghdad); the passage is as follows:—

"..... Nabu-zikir-iskun ..... fought and his overthrow accomplished..... ban-bala, (*c.*) Bagdadu..... great cities [he captured and] their spoil in abundance [to Assyria] he brought ..... nimati his death then took him ..... their daughters to each other they gave, a treaty concluding peace with each other they made, and the people of Assyria and Akkad with each other traded(?). From the mound of Bit-bara which is over Zabā, to the mound of Batani and of (*c.*) Ẓabdani, the boundary was established."

So far as our records go, it appears that this state of peace continued with only one interruption for about 150 years, and when war recommenced in the time of Assur-nazir-pal king of Assyria, the two countries occupied the same boundaries that are here described.

59. **Iri-ba-maruduk.**

 **Iriba-maruduk.**

The date of this monarch is unknown, and I only place him here provisionally; he is known from an inscription on a weight in the form of a duck and a text of his son Maruduk-bal-iddina. The text on the weight is as follows: "Thirty mana-gina of the palace of Iriba-maruduk king of Babylon."

60. **Maruduk-bal-iddina.**

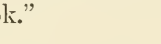
A monarch bearing this name reigned at Babylon during the time of Sargon and Sennacherib, kings of Assyria. I

have assumed that the king of the brick inscription is an earlier monarch of the same name, because he gives the name of his father Iriba-maruduk a Babylonian monarch, while the Maruduk-bal-iddina of the time of Sargon is generally called son of Yakin. The royal name on the brick, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVII, has hitherto been read Maruduk-iddin-aḥi, but on a close inspection of the brick I find that this reading is erroneous. The inscription reads: "To (*g.*) Nin-dimirri mistress of the earth his lady Maruduk-bal-iddina king of (*c.*) Babylon son of Iriba-maruduk king of Sumir and Akkad Bit-anna the house of her delight built."

61. , **Si-bir.**

Cir. B.C. 1000 (?).

This monarch is mentioned in the inscriptions of Assur-naẓir-pal king of Assyria, his date is uncertain; the notice of Ṣibir is as follows, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 22, line 84: "(*c.*) Adlila which Ṣibir king of Kar-dunias had captured and destroyed and to mounds and ruins had reduced Assur-naẓir-pal king of Assyria again took."

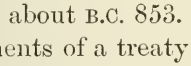
62.  , **Nabu-bal-iddina.**

Cir. B.C. 880 to 853.

Nabu-bal-iddina king of Babylonia is mentioned in several inscriptions; he first appears upon the scene B.C. 879, when Assur-naẓir-pal king of Assyria attacked the Ṣuḥi or Shuites. Sadudu king of Ṣuḥi received aid from the Kassi, and Nabu-bal-iddina sent him fifty chariots, but Sadudu and his allies were defeated, and Ṣuḥi conquered by the Assyrians. The account of this war is given in C.I., Vol. 1, p. 23, lines 16 to 24: "(*c.*) Ṣūru the fortified city of Sadudu of Ṣuḥi I attacked. To the numerous warriors of the Kassi he trusted, and to make war and fight to my presence came. The city I attacked and after two days fighting, I forced an entrance. From the face of my powerful soldiers Sadudu with 70 of his men, to save his life into the Euphrates threw himself. The city I captured. 50 chariots and their soldiers of Nabu-bal-iddina king of Kar-dunias, Zabdānu his brother and 3,000

of their fighting men, Bel-bal-iddina the officer who went before their army, with them in hand I captured, many soldiers with the sword I destroyed. Silver, gold, lead, *kami*, *sadi* stone shining, the goods of his palace, chariots, horses trained to the yoke, harness of men, harness of horses, the females(?) of his palace, his great spoil I carried off; the city I pulled down and destroyed. Glory and power over Ṣuḥi I obtained. The fear of my dominion to Kar-dunias reached, the terror of my soldiers over Kaldū (Chaldea) swept."

After the failure of his attempt to assist the Ṣuḥi, Nabu-bal-iddina made peace with Assyria, which lasted until his death about B.C. 853. In the British Museum there are some fragments of a treaty made between Nabu-bal-iddina king of Kar-dunias and Shalmaneser son of Assur-naẓir-pal king of Assyria.

63.  , Maruduk-zikir-izkur(?).

Cir. B.C. 753–730.

This monarch, the reading of whose name is uncertain, was the son of Nabu-bal-iddina, and succeeded his father about B.C. 753. The foster-brother of Maruduk-zikir-izkur named Maruduk-bel-uṣate, then revolted against him, and took from him the province of Akkad. These events brought about the interference of Shalmaneser king of Assyria, who made two expeditions to Babylonia to assist Maruduk-zikir-izkur; the first in B.C. 852, when he advanced as far as the river Turnat and took the cities of Me-turnat and Laḥiru; the second in the next year, when he killed Maruduk-bel-uṣate, and advanced to Babylon; here he received the submission of the Chaldees. There are four different accounts of these events, they are:

Layard's Ins., p. 76, lines 14 to 20, on base of Statue.

"To avenge Maruduk-zikir-izkur to Akkad I marched, Maruduk-bel-uṣate . . . . . I slew. To (*c.*) Kuti (Cutha) (*c.*) Babili and (*c.*) Bar-sip (Borsippa) I entered, my sacrifices and libations to the Gods of the cities of Akkad I poured

out. To Kaldi I descended, the tribute of the kings of Kaldi all of them I received."

Layard's Ins., p. 91, lines 73 to 84, on Black Obelisk.

"In my eighth year[1] (or expedition) Maruduk-zikir-izkur king of Kar-dunias, Maruduk-bel-uṣate his foster-brother against him revolted. Swiftly to avenge Maruduk-zikir-izkur I marched and (*c.*) Me-turnat I captured. In my ninth year a second time to Akkad I marched, (*c.*) Gananate I besieged. Maruduk-bel-uṣati terrible fear of Assur and Maruduk overwhelmed him, and to save his life to the mountains he ascended; after him I pursued. Maruduk-bel-uṣati and the rebels with him, with the sword I destroyed. To the great cities I marched, sacrifices and libations in Babili, Barsip, and Kute I made, offerings to the great gods I portioned. To Kaldi I descended, their cities I captured, the tribute of the kings of Kaldi I received, the terror of my soldiers to the ocean swept."

Layard's Ins., p. 15, lines 23 to 29, on Back of Bull.

"In my eighth year in the time of Maruduk-zikir-izkur king of Kar-dunias, Maruduk-bel-uṣate his brother against him revolted: to avenge [him] I marched (*c.*) Me-turnat and (*c.*) Laḫiru I captured. In my ninth year in my second expedition (*c.*) Gananate I captured. Maruduk-bel-uṣate to save his life to (*c.*) Ḫalman fled, after him I pursued, Maruduk-bel-uṣate and the rebels with him, with the sword, I destroyed. To (*c.*) Balili I went, sacrifices and libations in Balili, Barsip, and Kute I made. To Kaldi I descended, their cities I captured, to the sea which Marute is called, I marched. The tribute of Adini son of Dakuri, and Musallim-maruduk son of Ukani, silver, gold, valuable wood and horns of oxen in (*c.*) Babili I received."

C.I., Vol. 2, p. 65, lines 15 to 68.

"In the time of Salimanu-usur king of Assyria and Nabu-bal-iddina king of Kar-dunias, a treaty concluding peace with each other they made. In the time of Salimanu-usur king of Assyria, Nabu-bal-iddina king of Kar-dunias his death took him, Maruduk-zikir-izkur in the throne of his

[1] The word *pal* some translate year, others expedition.

father sat, Maruduk-bel-uṣate his brother against him revolted . . . . . and captured Akkad. Swiftly to avenge, Salimanu-usur king of Assyria to the aid of Maruduk-zikir-izkur king of Kar-dunias marched. Maruduk-bel-uṣate the rebel king and the rebels who were with him, he slew. To Kute, Babili . . . . . ."

The treaty between Shalmaneser and Nabu-bal-iddina here mentioned, is probably the one, fragments of which are in the British Museum.

64.

Maruduk-balaḍ-ṣu-iqbi.

Cir. B.C. 730–710.

This monarch is known to us from an inscription of Samsi-vul king of Assyria, C.I., Vol. 1, p. 34, col. 3, line 70, to col. 4, line 45, which gives the following account of an invasion of Babylonia by the Assyrians :—

"In my fourth expedition, the fifteenth day of Ṣivanu, to Kar dunias I went. The river Zab I crossed. In the neighbourhood of (*c.*) Zaddi and (*c.*) Zabā crossing the ridges of the mountains, three powerful lions I slew. Ebiḥ I passed through: (*c.*) Me-turnat I besieged; terrible fear of Assur and Maruduk the great Gods my lords overwhelmed them, my yoke they took. Those people I brought out, and with their goods and their gods to the midst of my country I brought them. To the people of my country I appointed them. The river Turnat in its flood I crossed, (*c.*) Garṣale his royal city, and 200 cities round it, I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned. Yalman I passed through: (*c.*) Dihibina I besieged; the terror of Assur overwhelmed them, my yoke they took. 300 cities and their people, their goods, and their furniture, from the midst of that city I brought them. (*c.*) Datebir, (*c.*) Iz . . . ya which are beside (*c.*) Ganasutikanu, and 200 cities round them I captured, 330 of their warriors I slew their spoil, their goods, their furniture, and their gods I carried off, their plantations I trampled on, their cities I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned. The people

who before my powerful soldiers fled. to (*c.*) Kiribti-alani their fortress entered; that city I attacked, I captured. 500 of their warriors I slew, their spoil, their goods, their furniture, their gods, their oxen, and their sheep, I carried off. The city I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned. Akkad and Kaldi, which from before the terribleness of my powerful soldiers, making my fierce attack, who knew no rest; feared, and to (*c.*) Dur-aḫisu (?) the royal city (which like an island (?) in the river, in the midst of the waters was situated; for attacking by my army it was difficult) and into 447 cities round it, they entered. That city in my course I captured, 3,000 of their fighting men with the sword I destroyed; their blood like a stream of water the neighbourhood of their city I caused to spread over. The slain of their army in heaps I piled. 3,000 alive in hand I captured. His royal carriage (?), the treasures of his palace, the women (?) of his palace alive, his goods, his furniture, his gods . . . . . of his palace without number from the midst of that city I carried off, the slain of his army like . . . . . to the army of my country, were consumed. That city I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire burned. Maruduk-balaḍ-ṣu-iqbi to the might of his army trusted, and the Chaldeans, Elamites, Zimri, and Arameans, with his great army without number he gathered, to make war and fight to my presence he came. Over Ahadabā, in the vicinity of Dur-aḫisu (?) the fortress, his army he placed. With him I fought, his overthrow I accomplished, 5,000 slain of the people I left, 2,000 alive in hand I captured, 100 of his chariots, 200 of his war carriages, his royal pavilion, parasol, and his camp I took from him."

The account of this expedition of the Assyrian army shows that the Assyrians did not advance much beyond the River Turnat. The whole affair reads like a sudden raid into a country unprepared and taken by surprise. No advance into the interior of the country is claimed, and although the force assembled by Maruduk-balaḍ-su-iqbi was defeated, no permanent results appear to have followed.

The date of this expedition is uncertain, but it probably took place between B.C. 820 and 815.

Samsi-vul again marched into Babylonia in B.C. 815. The statement of this expedition is found in the Canon History, C.I., Vol. 2, p. 52, line 3, which is completed as follows:—

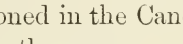
"Eponym Musik-ṣar the tartan. To the city of Diri, the great God to the city of Deri descended."

The meaning of the great God descending is unknown; this deity was the presiding god of Deri. Two other expeditions are mentioned in the Canon History during this reign, B.C. 813 and 812, they are:—

"Eponym Samas-kumua prefect of Salmat. To Kaldi."

"Eponym Nabu-qati-ẓabat prefect of Arbaḥa. To Babylon."

The inscriptions supply no details of these three wars.

65.  , **Ṣa-am-mu-ra-mat.**

(Semiramis.)

Cir. B.C. 800.

This queen was the wife of Vulnirari king of Assyria, she is usually included among the Babylonian sovereigns, but I doubt if she was in any way connected with that country. One inscription mentioning her is known, it is printed C.I., Vol. 1, p. 35, No. II, it is on a stone statue of Nebo, erected by the governor of Calah in honour of Semiramis and her husband.

The Assyrian Canon History registers five expeditions to Babylonia during this reign, these were in the years B.C. 796, 795, 791, 783, and 782. These are given as follows:—

"Eponym Maruduk-sadua prefect of Salmat. To the city of Deri."

"Eponym Kin-abua prefect of Tusḥan. To the city of Deri."

"Eponym Kima-samas prefect of Iṣana. To Ituha."

"Eponym Ninip-naẓir prefect of Mazamua. To Ituha."

"Eponym Ilva-liha prefect of Naẓibina(?). To Ituha."

No details of any of these expeditions are given, but in the inscription printed C.I., Vol. 1, p. 35, No. I, there is the following reference to Chaldea:—

"The kings of Kaldi all of them submission made, taxes and tribute for after days over them I fixed. Babili, Barsip, and Kuti the offerings of Bel, Nabu, and Nergal brought, sacrifices and libations valuable."

The history of Babylonia again becomes a blank, until we come to the time of Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, B.C. 745.

In the interval of thirty-seven years, from the end of the reign of Vulnirari to the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, there were four expeditions to Babylonia, in the years B.C. 777, 771, 769 and 767, which are related as follows:—

"Eponym Nabu-isdi-ukin the tugulu. To Ituha."

"Eponym Assur-dān king of Assyria. To (*c.*) Gannanati."

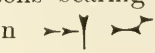
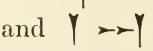
"Eponym Bel-ilai prefect of Arbaḫa. To Ituha."

"Eponym Qurdi-assur prefect of Aḫi-zuḫina. To (*c.*) Gannanati."

As in all the former notices, we have no details of these expeditions.

66. Nabonassar.

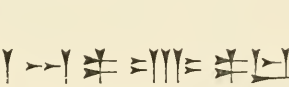
Cir. B.C. 747 to 733.

The name of Nabonassar has not been found among the Babylonian kings mentioned in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, but private persons bearing the name are mentioned. This name is written  , Na-bi-ū-na-ṣi-ir and  , Nabu-naṣir, Nabonassar king of Babylon, whose reign is recorded in Ptolemy's Canon, was contemporary with the first part of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II king of Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser invaded Babylonia in B.C. 745, and has left four records of his expedition, but he does not mention Nabonassar or allude to any king as reigning in this district. The two principal of these accounts are as follows (Layard's Inscriptions, p. 52): ". . . . . them and they went. Those cities a second time I built; over the mound of Kamri which the city of Ḥumut they call a city I built, from its foundation to its summit I constructed, I completed. A palace a seat of my royalty in the midst I fixed, Kar-assur its name I called, the soldiers of Assur in the midst I set up, people of countries the conquests

of my hand in the midst I placed . . . . . them, with the men of Assyria I placed them. The river Patti . . . . . which from days remote had been . . . . . I excavated and within it I enclosed refreshing waters . . . . . Dur-kurigalzu, Ṣipar of Samas, Paẓitu of the Dunaites, Kisik, the Nakri, the Ṭane, Kalain, the river Sumandasi . . . . . of the Dunani, Qirbutu . . . . le, Būdu, Paḫḫaz and Qimnipur, cities of Kar-dunais to the midst of the river Ukne . . . . . I possessed, to the borders of Assyria I added. My general prefect over them I appointed. From among their sheep and oxen which I captured 240 sheep . . . . . to Assur my lord I . . . . those . . . . . which I captured . . . . . in the government of the tartan, the government of the lord of the palace, the government of the rab-bitur, the government of Barḫaziya, and the government of Mazamua . . . . . I placed, under one command I caused them to be, and with the people of Assyria I settled (?) them. The yoke of Assur my lord which . . . . . placed . . . . . my . . . . . my . . . . . a second time I arranged, and Assyria to . . . . . a city I built, a palace a seat of my royalty . . . . . its name I called, the soldiers of Assur my lord in . . . . . with the people of Assyria I placed them. A statue . . . . . which by the might of Assur my lord over the countries I had . . . . . ten talents of gold to *dante*, one hundred talents of . . . . . his tribute I received."

C.I., Vol 2, p. 67, lines 5 to 15:—"The tribes of Ituha, Rubuha, Ḥamarani, Luhua, Ḥarilu, Rubbu, Rapiqu, Hiranu, Rabilu, Naziru, Gulusu, Nabatu, Raḫiqu, Ka . . . . . Rummulusu, Adile, Kipre, Ubudu, Gurumu, Bagdadu, Ḫindaru, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilqu Rade, Da . . . . ., Ubulu, Karmaha, Amlatu, Ruha, Qabiha, Lehitau, Marusu, Amatu, Hagaranu, and the cities of Dur-kurigalzu, Adile, Birtu of Sarragitu, Birtu of Labbanat, and Birtu of Kar-bel-matati, the Arameans all of them who are by the side of the rivers Tigris, Euphrates, Surappi, to the midst of the Ukni, which is by the side of the lower sea I captured, their warriors I slew, their spoil I carried off. The Arameans all there were, to the borders of Assyria I added, and my generals prefects over them I made. Upon the mound of Kamri which the city of

Ḫumut they call a city I built. Kar-assur its name I called. People the conquests of my hand in the midst I placed. In Ṣipar, Nipur, Babili, Barsip, Kute, Kisu, Kilmad (?), and Ur, cities unrivalled, valuable sacrifices and libations to Bel and Zirat-banit, Nabu and Urmitu, Nergal and Laz, the great gods my lords, I poured out, and they strengthened my feet. The whole of Kar-dunias to its utmost extent I possess, and I rule its kingdom. The Puqudu like corn I swept away, their fighting men I slew, their abundant spoil I carried off. The Puqudu in the cities of Lahiru, of Idibirina, Ḫilimmu, and Pillutu, which border on Elam, to the boundaries of Assyria I added, and in the hands of my general the prefect of Arrapḫa I placed them. The Kaldudu all there were I removed, and in the midst of Assyria I placed them."

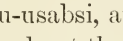
67.  Nabu-u-sab-si.

This prince is probably the Nabius of Ptolemy, who reigned B.C. 733-731. Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria invaded Babylonia a second time B.C. 731, and defeated and captured Nabu-usabsi at Sarrapanu his capital. Nabu-usabsi was captured and crucified on the wall of his city. One inscription describing these events is published, C.I., Vol. 2, p. 67, lines 15-17: "Kaldi through its extent in hostility I swept. Nabu-usabsi son of Silani, his fighting men on the walls of Sarrapani his city I slew, and in front of the great gate of his city on a cross I raised him. I subdued his country, Sarrapanu to a heap of earth [I reduced] . . . . . I captured 5,500 of their people and children. His spoil, his furniture, his goods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, and his gods I carried off. That city and the cities round it I pulled down [destroyed, in the fire] I burned, and to mounds and heaps I reduced."

Another account, Layard's Inscriptions, p. 17, lines 8-11, is as follows: "Bit-Silani, through its extent like a whirlwind I destroyed. Sarrabanu their great royal city like a whirlwind

I destroyed, and its spoil carried off; Nabu-usabsi their king before the great gate of his city on a cross I raised. His spoil, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his goods, and the treasures of his palace I carried off."

In spite of the statement of Ptolemy's list, it is very doubtful if this prince ruled at Babylon. It is probable that the three last monarchs of this epoch, Nabonassar or Nabu-nazir, Nabius or Nabu-usabsi, and Chinzirus or Kin-ziru, were Chaldean princes, who kept their independence after Tiglath-Pileser had conquered Babylon in B.C. 745.

68.  , Kin-ziru (Chinzirus).

B.C. 731 to 727.

Kinziru, according to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, was a Chaldean prince who held out against the Assyrian power after the death of Nabu-usabsi B.C. 731, and Ptolemy inserts his name among the Babylonian rulers at this period. The account of the war between Tiglath-Pileser and Kinziru is given in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 67, lines 23 to 25 :—

"Kin-ziru son of Amukkan, in Ṣapē his royal city I besieged him, his numerous fighting men in front of his great gates I slew, the groves of palm trees before his wall I cut down, I did not leave one ; its forests which extended over the country I destroyed, his enclosures I threw down, and filled up the interiors. All his cities I pulled down, destroyed, and burned in the fire. Bit-silani, Bit-amukkani, and Bit-sahalli through their extent like a whirlwind I destroyed, and to mounds and ruins I reduced."

Tiglath-Pileser does not claim to have captured Ṣape, although he besieged it, but he took possession of Babylon and proclaimed himself king of Babylonia, formally annexing the country to Assyria.

From this time the history of Babylonia is little more than a description of a series of revolts against the Assyrian power, each rising being put down, sometimes with great severity. This state of affairs lasted about a century ; when Nabu-pal-uzur an Assyrian general, sent to quell a revolt in

Chaldea, on the conclusion of that service was made tributary monarch at Babylon. Nabu-pal-uzur, or Nabopolassar, some years after he was established at Babylon, having made preparations for revolt, threw off the Assyrian yoke, and, with the aid of the Medes, destroyed Nineveh. Babylon, under Nebuchadnezzar his son, then became mistress of the world.

Notes.

Since the foregoing paper was written, I have thought it worth while to notice some points which have occurred to me. In the first place, as to the divisions of Babylonia, I am now rather of opinion that the district of Akkad included the country north of Nipur or Niffer, and the district of Sumir the country from Nipur to the Persian Gulf. There are, however, two other divisions noticed in the Inscriptions, namely, Kar-duniyas and Kaldu or Chaldea. The position of Kar-duniyas is quite uncertain, and I do not know if it was included in either of the before-mentioned divisions. Kaldu was a region named from being inhabited by the Chaldees; it probably had no fixed boundaries, and varied according to the power of the Chaldean tribes. The stronghold of the Chaldeans was on the Persian Gulf.

I here give a translation of an old Babylonian Geographical List, which was probably inscribed between 2,000 and 1,600 B.C. In the first column I give, as nearly as I can, the phonetic values of the names (which are written in Turanian), in the second column I give the Semitic names of those I can identify, and in the third the modern names of some, a few translations, and some notes.

It will be observed that, in this list, the first place is given to the great towns in the south of the country, which were early the seats of empire, while Babylon, Cutha, Sippara, Nineveh, and others occur low down in the list, and Borsippa is not mentioned at all:—

1. . . . . in-di ki	. . . .	. . . .
2. Mul-lil ki	Nipur	Niffer
3. Ur-lab ki	Uru	Mugheir

4. Lab-maḥ ki	.. ..	*Part* of Mugheir
5. Ud-nun ki	.. ..	Tel Sifr (?)
6. Ud-lab ki	Larsa	Senkereh
7. Lab ki	Uruk	Warka
8. Ni-ṣi-in ki	Karrak	.. ..
9. Zir-lab ki	Zarilab	.. ..
10. Ki-sur-ra ki	.. ..	.. ..
11. .... ki	.. ..	.. ..
12. Uḥ ki	Ruhu	.. ..
13. Ma-gan ki	Muṣur	Egypt
14. Mi-luḥ-ḥa ki	Kuṣu	Ethiopia
15. Eri-ḍu ki	Eriḍu	.. ..
16. An-du-an ki	Assan	*In Elam*
17. Mar-ḥa-si ki	.. ..	.. ..
18. Ḥa-mar ki	.. ..	. ..
19. Num ki	Elamu	Khuzistan
20. Gab-gab-ni ki	.. ..	.. ..
21. Ni-tuk ki	Asmun	On Persian Gulf
22. Su-rim (?) ki	.. ..	.. ..
23. Su-ti-ū ki	.. ..	.. ..
24. In-ku ki	.. ..	.. ..
25. Gu-ti-ū ki	Guti	.. ..
26. Ḥa-a ki	.. ..	.. ..
27. Ḥa-a ki	.. ..	.. ..
28. Ḥa-a ki	.. ..	.. ..
29. E ki	.. .	.. ..
30. E ki	.. ..	.. ..
31. E ki	.. ..	.. ..
32. Pa ki	.. ..	.. ..
33. Pa ki	.. ..	.. ..
34. Pa ki	.. ..	.. ..
35. Ud ki	.. ..	.. ..
36. Ud ki	.. ..	.. ..
37. Ud ki	.. ..	.. ..
38. Im ki	Muru	.. ..
39. Im ki	Muru ..	.. ..

40. Im ki	Muru ..	.. ..
41. Dur-an ki	Duban (?)	.. ..
42. Dur-an ki	.. ..	.. ..
43. Dur-an ki	.. ..	.. ..
44. Dur ki	Diru ..	Duair ..
45. Dur ki	Diru ..	. ..
46. Dur ki	Diru ..	.. ..
47. Tu-pur ki	.. ..	.. ..
48. Tig-gab-a ki	Kute	Ibrahim .
49. Din-tir ki	Babili	Babylon
50. In (?) ki	.. ..	.. ..
51. Ninu ki	Ninua	Kouyunjik
52. Ki-pal-mas-da ki	.. ..	.. ..
53. Kis ki	Kisu	Hymer
54. Ra-be-qu ki	Rapiqu	.. ..
55. Ne-ri-ib-bu ki	.. ..	.. ..
56. Ud-kip-nun ki	Ṣippar	Sura
57. Ud-kip-nun-ul-la ki	*Old* Ṣippar	.. ..
58. Amar-da ki	Marad	.. ..
59. Te-ni-lu ki	.. ..	.. ..
60. Ul-mas ki	.. ..	Near Sippara (?)
61. A-ga-ne ki	.. ..	Near Sippara (?)
62. Hi-za ki	.. ..	.. ..
63. Ab-nun-na ki	Mullias	.. ..
64. E-al-de-a ki	.. ..	.. ..
65. Mas-e-pa-al ki	.. ..	.. ..
66. Mas-e-mi-ta ki	.. ..	.. ..
67. Mas-e-ṣar ki	.. ..	.. ..
68. A-ta-tak ki	. ..	.. ..
69. Ir sa ki	Alu sa irṣitu	Cities of the Earth
70. Ir sa Ka-me ki	Alu sa Sumir	Cities of Sumir
71. Ir sa Ur ki	Alu sa Akkad	Cities of Akkad
72. Ir sa ki-in-gi ki Ur ki	Alu sa Sumir and Akkad	Cities of Sumir and Akkad
73. Ir sa ki-pal ki	Alu sa napalkutu	Foreign Cities

There can be no doubt that among the Babylonians

traditions of a flood were current, but the inscriptions which have been hitherto found do not contain any certain allusion to this event. A very circumstantial account of the flood from Chaldean sources appears in the fragments of the history of Berosus.

There is, however, an unpublished text in the Museum Collection, K, 136, which appears to me to refer to this event; it is unfortunately so mutilated that the question cannot be decided, but I here give a translation of the first part, which resembles a poetical description of the eve of the deluge:—

"A command from the midst of the sea [came out]
a will from the midst of the heavens [came down]
a storm like *urkiti* the earth [covered]
to the four winds terror swept like a fire it destroyed
the people of the cities it caused pain to take hold of their loins and terror
in city and country it struck them silent
master and slave it cut down and
in heaven and earth like a hailstorm it rained and a flood (?) accumulated
to the sanctuaries of their gods they fled and sought refuge
.... their powerful .... they prayed and like ....
[while they prayed (?)] also death ....."

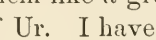
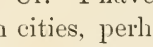
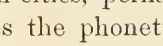
The meaning of the inscription is here and there doubtful, but the general sense is clear enough.

The Babylonians, like other nations of antiquity, supplied their own want of knowledge of the early history of their country by fabulous stories of gods and heroes who were supposed to have ruled in ancient days.

One of these mythical monarchs was Ninip, who was supposed to have been son of the deity Bel. Ninip bears the character of a warrior and hunter; he is, in fact, a sort of Hercules or Mars, and various exploits were related concerning him: one tablet, K, 133, speaks of him as follows:—

"The lord the seed of his father diregarding destroying the country
the powerful prince who in his face fear did not carry
Ninip the mighty man who in his image rejoiced
the warrior like a bull destroying his compânions

the lord who to his city returning to his mother was appointed
the country he rode over seed he begat
violently his name he proclaimed over their kingdom
in the midst of them like a great buffalo his horns he lifted."

Dungi king of Ur. I have thought that the name of one of the Babylonian cities, perhaps founded by him and called after him, supplies the phonetic name of this monarch; it is Dunnu-ṣaidu, written C.I., Vol. 2, p. 48, line 19,  , Dun-nu-za-i-du, p. 52, line 61,  , Dun-nu-ṣa-i-di, and p. 60, line 16,  , Du-ni-sa-i-di.

Ismi-dagan and Gungunu. The relationship or supposed relationship between these two kings has puzzled me very much, and I am now more uncertain than ever about these inscriptions. It is difficult to suppose that the text on the bricks, which is generally considered to be Gungunu's, can really be his; and I have some doubts whether the character which precedes the name of Ismi-dagon really means son. These bricks are, however, fast decaying, so that they can no longer be relied upon to prove a contested point.

Kudur-mabuk lord of Elam. The inscriptions of the period of Kudur-mabuk recall to the mind the account in Genesis of Chedorlaomer, who ruled from Elam to the Mediterranean. The name of Chedorlaomer in Babylonian would be Kudur-lagamar. The early Babylonian inscriptions confirm the statements of Genesis as to the power and importance of Elam at this period.

Babylonian Contract Tablets. These tablets are very numerous, there being about 200 specimens in the British Museum. About 100 belong to the time of the early kings, and principally to the reigns of Gamil-ṣin, Ṣin-idinna, Nur-vul, Rim-ṣin, Ḥammurabi, and Ṣamṣu-iluna. They generally exist in duplicate, one copy being inside the other, and relate mostly to sales of land; but some are leases, other sales of grain, slaves and camels, and a few are loans, wills, and law cases. The outer and inner copies of these documents sometimes present interesting variations. The following is a

translation of a law case from this collection, concerning two relatives who quarrelled over some property:—

"Ẓini-nana and Iribā-ṣin a dispute had; to settle it a judge they took, and to the temple of Samas they entered. In the temple of Samas sentence he pronounced: 'The slave Lussamar-samas and the female slave Lislimā to be the property of Iribā-ṣin; the slave Ipsinan and the female slave Ilamanna-lamazi to be the property of Ẓini-nana.' A statute in the temple of Samas and the temple of Ṣin they proclaimed: 'Brother to brother should be loving, brother from brother should not turn, should not quarrel, over the whole a brother to a brother should be generous, the whole he should not have. By the names of (*g.*) Ur, (*g.*) Samas, (*g.*) Maruduk, (*g.*) Ṣarkimuma and Ḥammurabi the king they swore, witness Davkina-seme son of Apiyatu, witness Abil-ṣin son of Ur-manse, witness Ṣin-esses the priest, witness Ibus-hea the dugab, witness Samas-mubanit priest of (*g.*) Gula, witness Nabi-ṣin son of Idin-ṣin, witness Ṣin-uzili son of Ẓini-nana, witness Inu-ṣin son of Ṣin-seme, witness Ṣin-gimlaanni the . . . of the judges. Tablet the witnesses impressed in the month Addaru in the year when Ḥammurabi the king (*g.*) Anu, (*g.*) Anunit and (*g.*) Nana adorned.'"

The outer tablet has the following variant for the first part of this text:—

"Zini-nana and Iribā-ṣin a dispute had; to settle it a judge they took. The judge to the temple of Samas drove them, and in the temple of Samas the judge judgment gave to them, and sentence pronounced, their possessions he appointed: 'The slave Lussamar-samas,'" &c.

This double document is written in Semitic Babylonian, like the tablet of Ḥammurabi at Paris, but most of the other tablets in the collection are written in Turanian, although occasionally one copy will give a Semitic equivalent for the corresponding Turanian word in the other.

Ḥammurabi king of Babylon. Of all the Babylonian monarchs whose records I have examined, Ḥammurabi appears to me to be the one who in history, character, and name approaches nearest to the Biblical Nimrod. If we could read Nammuradi, instead of Ḥammurabi, the names would

correspond, and on this point it is curious to note that the Assyrians sometimes interchanged *h* and *n*, an instance of which occurs in C.I., Vol. 2, p. 25, line 14. The date of Ḥammurabi is very difficult to fix even approximately. My first idea was that he was the leader of the Arab dynasty of Berosus, which commenced its rule in the latter part of the 16th century B.C. The names of the kings known from the monuments to have reigned during the 15th century evidently belong to the same race as Ḥammurabi; but I now think there is not room for the nine or ten kings headed by Ḥammurabi to go into this dynasty, which already contains six monumental kings; consequently, I think that he must go much higher in the list, and, from a consideration of the Senkereh Monuments, I conclude that the date of Ḥammurabi cannot be much more than 200 years after Kudur-mabuk, whose dynasty he overthrew.

Kin-ziru or Chinzirus. In the lithographed copy of the inscription containing this name, there is an error of for , which has prevented the earlier recognition of this monarch.

ON THE DATE OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S.

Read 6th June, 1871.

In the "Quarterly Review" of April last is an article on the subject of the date of the Nativity of our Lord, in which the author has done valuable service to the cause of truth in bringing under general notice the historical discovery of Dr. Zumpt of Berlin, contained in a Latin Essay entitled "Commentatio de Syriâ Romanorum provinciâ ab Cæsare Augusto ad Titum Vespasianum." Dr. Zumpt has shown in this Essay that Quirinus, or Quirinius, or Cyrenius, as the name is written by St. Luke (ch. ii, 2), was governor of Syria from the year B.C. 4 to A.D. 1, according to the common era of Dionysius. This valuable discovery is in exact agreement with the record of St. Luke, that the baptism of Christ took place in the 15th year of Tiberius Cæsar, when our Lord he tells us was "about thirty years of age," and that his birth took place during the enrolment which "was made for the first time when Cyrenius was governor of Syria."

The author of the article in the "Review," however, trusting to the arguments of others drawn from the writings of Josephus, which he has not thought it necessary to set forth, has allowed himself to be persuaded that Herod the Great, before whose death Christ was born, must have died in the year 4 before the common era, and that the birth of our Lord, therefore, took place some five or even seven years before the same era. "We may deduce," he says, "from Josephus, that Herod the Great died in the spring of the year 4 before Christ, according to the Dionysian era." "Thus far," he says, "there is no difficulty." So that the journey of Mary to Bethlehem, and the birth of her child, must have

happened some years before the governorship of Cyrenius in Syria, and the baptism some years before the 15th of Tiberius. Thus proving the reckoning of St. Luke to be loose and inaccurate; and as an inference that his testimony in general as to facts is not strictly to be relied upon. A statement involving so unsatisfactory a result ought not to be allowed to pass without examination by a Society established for the purpose of promoting the accurate study of Biblical Archæology. I venture, therefore, to make a few remarks in support of the veracity and extreme accuracy of the Christian historian, and to show how his record is in perfect agreement with fixed astronomical data; how our Lord was born either in the autumn of the year 3, or in the spring of the year 2 before the common era; and how the reckoning of Josephus, so far from contradicting, is in perfect harmony with this result.

I shall so arrange my remarks as to show as briefly as possible—

First. How St. Luke is in unison with all unquestioned authority on the subject.

Secondly. How the authority of Josephus, which has been supposed to be at variance with the record of St. Luke, does in fact strictly confirm it.

I.—As to the Date of Christ's Baptism.

"Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," writes St. Luke, "Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests,"—John began to baptise in the Jordan (Luke iii, 1, 2): "and Jesus himself was about thirty years of age when he began" (his ministry): and he also was baptised in the Jordan in the same year. St. Luke here evidently takes pains to be exact in marking the time of the beginning of Christ's ministry: and unless strong reason can be shown to the contrary, it is only reasonable to assume that, in speaking of the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, he intended

to count according to the common and generally understood reckoning of his years, beginning from the death of Augustus.

Now Augustus died on the 18th August A.D. 14, and the first year of Tiberius therefore began on the 19th day of that month, and ended on the 18th August A.D. 15. The fifteenth year of Tiberius, therefore, spoken of by St. Luke, was counted as running from August A.D. 28 to August A.D. 29. The baptism of Christ, therefore, occurred between those two dates, and the birth, counting thirty years backward from that time, may be placed either in the autumn of the year B.C. 3, or the spring of the year B.C. 2. I prefer the autumn date, as falling in with the description of that peaceful time, when shepherds were "abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks by night."

II.—As to the Date of the Crucifixion.

Let us next examine how St. Luke's date for the baptism, and birth, agrees with the computed time of the Crucifixion of Christ. The crucifixion we know took place on Friday, that is to say on the day beginning on Thursday evening and ending on Friday evening. It was also we know the day which comprehended the exact time of the full moon, which in the Jewish calendar always fell on the 15th day of the month Nisan, that is on the first day of the "Feast of unleavened bread, *which is called the Passover.*"

Let me say a few words in passing to show that the Feast of unleavened bread was called "the Passover."

We read in the xxiii chapter of Leviticus—"In the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the Lord's Passover, and on the fifteenth day of the same month is the Feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord."

Now both Josephus and St. Luke speak of the Feast of unleavened bread as "the Passover."—Josephus writes (Ant. xviii, 2, 2)—"As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, *which we call the Passover.*" St. Luke writes,—"Now the Feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover" (Luke xxii, 1). and St. John

writes,—"Now *before* the Feast of the Passover"—"and supper being ended," &c. (John xiii, 1, 2.)

Some have been led into error by looking for the full moon on the 14th day of the month Nisan, and by supposing that the 14th day of Nisan fell on Friday. But I believe it is now generally understood that our Lord *eat* the Passover lamb with his disciples on the evening of Thursday the 14th, and was crucified at midday on the 15th, when the priests were keeping the Feast, "*called the Passover*." And the Jews do now at the present day keep the 15th day, not the 14th of Nisan, as the day of the Passover, as may be seen in any common Jewish almanack.

The simple question therefore is, in what years, after the 15th of Tiberius, did the Paschal full moon fall on Friday, the 15th of Nisan? Now the times of the Paschal full moons from A.D. 29, to 34, have often been computed: and there are only two years in which the full moon falls on Friday, that is on the—

15th Nisan in A.D. 30 = Friday, 7th April, o.s.
and „ „ „ 33 = „ 3rd April, „

The first of these dates is too early for the crucifixion, if we abide by St. Luke, as it would only allow one year for the ministry of Christ. The second is in harmony with St. Luke's dates for the birth, and baptism, and generally with the history contained in the four gospels, which speak of four Passovers. Thus far, then, the precise evidence of astronomy coincides with the testimony of St. Luke to show that our Lord was born, either in the year 3, or 2, before the common era.

But here the writer in the "Review" again remarks—"Knowing as we do the exact date of Herod's death, [which he places "in the spring of the year B.C. 4"] we cannot place Christ's birth at a later[1] date than the year 5 before the Christian era."

Let us then next consider how far Dr. Zumpt's discovery concerning the government of Cyrenius supports or contradicts this conclusion: and whether in fact it does not

[1] The writer in the "Review" has inadvertently written "earlier."

absolutely exclude it, to the complete confirmation of the reckoning of St. Luke.

III.—As to the Date when Quirinus or Cyrenius was first Governor of Syria.

It would be impossible for me within the short compass of this lecture to enter fully into the learned arguments of Dr. Zumpt on this subject—I will therefore merely state that I am satisfied with them as they are set forth in the article in the "Quarterly Review," to which I have referred: that they have been carefully examined and approved in an "Appendix to Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual," published in 1858: and that the late Dean Alford has pronounced them to be "striking and satisfactory."

But what do they prove? The writer of the article referred to says,—"It will be observed that these separate trains of argument all tend to one result. They render all but certain a former government of Quirinus in Syria,—that government commencing probably in the latter months of the year 4 before Christ, and continuing till the year 1 after Christ." Now if Dr. Zumpt is right in this conclusion, that Cyrenius came into Syria towards the end of the year B.C. 4, and if Mary had then come up to Bethlehem to be *enrolled*, or registered for taxation, when Christ was born, "and this *enrolling* was *first made* when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," it is quite clear that Herod's death, which certainly took place after Mary's enrolment, could not have happened in the spring of the year B.C. 4, some six or seven months before Cyrenius came to his government, nor could the birth of Christ of course have happened till after the arrival of Cyrenius. This valuable historical discovery of Dr. Zumpt, therefore, absolutely sets aside the idea of the Reviewer, that the birth of Christ could have taken place so early as B.C. 5—and inasmuch as it tends to show that Cyrenius was governor of Syria both in the years 3 and 2, before the common era, it as surely confirms the reckoning of St. Luke, that the birth took place either in autumn 3, or spring 2 before that era.

The list of governors of Syria, as established by Dr. Zumpt, is as follows:—

C. Sentius Saturninus	from B.C.	9
P. Quinctilius Varus	„	6
P. Sulpicius Quirinus, for the first time about the latter end of	„	4
during the whole of	„	3
„ „	„	2
„ „	„	1
M. Lollius	A.D.	1
C. Marcus Censorinus		4
P. Sulpicius Quirinus (2nd time)		6
Q. Creticus Silanus		11

IV.—As to the Date of the Death of Herod.

The death of Herod we know took place not long before the Passover, that is to say, that Passover at which his successor Archelaus found it necessary to slay 3,000 seditious people who were opposed to his government. We know also from Josephus that it took place not many weeks after an eclipse of the moon, which happened on the same night that he caused certain Rabbies to be burnt to death, because they had taken down the golden eagle set up by him on the temple, on a rumour having been spread about the city that the king was actually dead.[1]

Now there are but two eclipses of the moon between the years B.C. 5 and 1, which occurred shortly before the time of the Passover, which can be referred to by Josephus as representing this exact note of time, viz.:—

1. A partial eclipse of the moon, twenty-eight days before the Passover, which occurred on the 13th March B.C. 4.
2. A total eclipse of the moon, two months and twenty-eight days before the Passover, which occurred on the 10th January B.C. 1.

Mr. Hind has kindly furnished me with the particulars of all the eclipses from the year B.C. 5 to B.C. 1, which could possibly be supposed to apply to the time of Herod's death. And as regards the eclipse in January in the year B.C. 1, it

[1] Jos. Ant. xvii, vi, 4.

appears that the moon was then totally eclipsed for about one hour and forty minutes. "This," Mr. Hind observes, "is a notable eclipse, the Moon passing nearly centrally through the Earth's shadow."

A TOTAL LUNAR ECLIPSE,

B.C. 5, March 23.

	h.	m.	
Partial beginning	6	13	Mean Times at Jerusalem.
Total	7	16	
Middle	8	4	
Total ending	8	53	
Partial	9	54	

A TOTAL LUNAR ECLIPSE,

B.C. 5, Sept. 15.

	h.	m.	
Partial beginning	8	18	Mean Times at Jerusalem.
Total	9	26	
Middle	10	21	
Total ending	11	17	
Partial	12	24	

A PARTIAL LUNAR ECLIPSE,

B.C. 4, March 12.

	h.	m.	
* Began	13	0	Mean Times at Jerusalem.
Middle	14	18	
Ended	15	38	
Magnitude	0·53		

* Began	March 13th,	1 0 A.M.	Civil Mean Times.
Middle	,, ,,	2 18 ,,	
Ended	,, ,,	3 38 ,,	

TOTAL LUNAR ECLIPSE,

B.C. 1, January 9, 10, Civil Reckoning.

		h.	m.	
First contact with penumbra,	Jan. 9th,	10	26 P.M.	Mean Times at Jerusalem.
First contact with dark shadow,	,, ,,	11	23 ,,	
Beginning of total eclipse	,, 10th,	0	20 A.M.	
Ending of total eclipse	,, ,,	1	59 ,,	
Last contact with dark shadow,	,, ,,	2	57 ,,	
Last contact with penumbra	,, ,,	3	53 ,,	

"The Moon at this time was on the borders of the constellations Cancer and Leo, making a nearly equilateral triangle with the stars α and μ in Leo."

"I adopt $2^h\ 20^m\ 53^s$ E. as the longitude of Jerusalem, being that assigned in the 'Connaissance des Temps,' 1870, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

Those who would place the birth of Christ as early as the year B.C. 5, are accustomed to fix upon the partial eclipse of the 13th Mar. B.C. 4, as that which marks the death of the Rabbies. But we have already seen that the death of Herod, if thus placed in spring B.C. 4, would have taken place before the arrival of Cyrenius in Syria. There is no alternative left, therefore, if we adopt the historical discovery of Dr. Zumpt, but to fix upon the eclipse of the 10th January B.C. 1. Herod, therefore, must have died some time in February in the year B.C. 1,—two years and four or five months after the birth of Christ, if born in autumn B.C. 3. This argument appears to me to be conclusive of the whole question, which turns entirely upon these two eclipses. If Herod did not die between the time of the passover and the eclipse of Jan. B.C. 1, he must have died between the time of the passover and the eclipse of Mar. B.C. 4. But if it can be proved that he could not have died so early as spring B.C. 4, it is absolutely certain that he must have died some time between the 10th January and the time of the following Passover, in the year B.C. 1.

1. So that the record of St. Luke, that the birth of Christ was about thirty years before the 15th Tiberius—

2. The historical fact that Cyrenius was not governor of Judæa till towards *the end of the year* B.C. 4—

3. And the fact, which I shall next proceed to establish, that, according to any computation of Herod's reign, he could not have commenced his 34th year till after the eclipse of March B.C. 4, all which facts are in harmony with each other,—combine to show that Herod could not have died so early as the month of March in the year B.C. 4. He died therefore in the year B.C. 1.

V.—As to the Chronology of Josephus concerning the Reign of Herod and of Archelaus.

The question is, Does the chronology of Josephus support or contradict the testimony of St. Luke?

Now Josephus has recorded with great exactness that Herod died after reigning thirty-four years, counted from the time when he caused Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean

kings, to be put to death;[1] that is to say, he died in the course of the 35th year of his reign, not complete: and this 35th year must be computed, not from the time when he conquered and expelled Antigonus from Jerusalem, but from the time when Mark Antony, at his instigation, put Antigonus to death.[2] Now the strict mode of computing the regnal years of kings amongst the Jews is laid down in Comments on the Talmud—Treatise, Rosh Hasshanah, Mishna Surenh: vol. ii. p. 300, where it is written, "A king who has reigned during the month Sebat, or the month Adar, (that is the two last months of the year), has on the 1st of Nisan following completed a year."

And again—"It was the custom amongst the Jews, in their contracts, and all public and diplomatic instruments, to add the name of the king, and to count from the year in which he began to reign: which year, even if it began in Sebat or Adar, ended with the beginning of Nisan. And they wrote in contracts, "I have made over to you this or that, in the *second* year of the reign of the king." p. 302.

Thus the 35th year of Herod was reckoned also as the 1st year of Archelaus, and Archelaus began to reckon the second year of his reign within two months after Herod's death. Particular attention must be given to this precise rule for reckoning the reigns of Jewish kings, as it affords the means of correctly understanding the chronology of Josephus. And by this rule we are compelled to place the beginning of the *second* year of the reign of Archelaus in the same year B.C. as the death of Herod—that is B.C. 1, as already shown.

Josephus goes on to relate, with the same accuracy (Wars, ii, vii, 2), that *in the ninth year* of the government of Archelaus, that is to say, in *the course* of the ninth year, Archelaus was banished to Vienna, and his effects sold. And again, in another place he states that Cyrenius (who had come again as governor of Syria) disposed of the money of Archelaus and brought the taxings to a conclusion in the 37th year of Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium (Ant. xviii, ii, 1). Now the battle of Actium was fought on

[1] Jos. Ant. xvii, viii, 2. [2] Ibid. xv, i, 2.

the 2nd Sept. B.C. 31, and the 37th year from that battle ended on the 2nd Sept. A.D. 7, so that the sixth first months of Archelaus' 9th year were commensurate with the six last of the 37th year of the era of the battle of Actium. This date is very precise, and again coincides with the other authorities and facts, which place the second year of Archelaus and the death of Herod in the year B.C. 1—towards the close of Herod's 35th year.

It now only remains to show how the first year of Herod, counted from the death of Antigonus, should be counted from Nisan B.C. 36.

Josephus relates (Ant. xiv, xvi, 2) how Herod, with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius, besieged Jerusalem during the sabbatical year B.C. 38-7, and how his army was distressed by famine, in consequence of its being the sabbatical year. He then tells us that the city was taken, after a three months' siege, "on the solemnity of *the Fast*," that is on the fast of the day of Atonement, on the 10th of Tishri, in Sept. B.C. 37, in the 185th Olympiad, and when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome. Nothing can be more precise than this date for the taking of the city and the capture of Antigonus. And, if the reign of Herod had been counted from this time, there is no doubt that his first year would have been reckoned as B.C. 37, and his 34th as beginning in Nisan B.C. 4, fifteen days after the eclipse on the 13th March—still however proving that Herod could not have died about that time, because at the close of his 33rd year. But Josephus particularly wishes it to be understood that his reign did not count from the autumn of B.C. 37, but from some later time, that is from the time when Antigonus was put to death. For he goes on to speak of the covetousness of Antony, whom he calls their *ruler*, not of Herod the king; and relates how Antigonus was retained by Antony as a captive, with the intention of his appearing at his triumph on his return to Rome. Moreover, he goes on to say, that though Antigonus was removed from Jerusalem by Antony, the Jews had such attachment towards their legitimate king, that not even torture could induce them to recognize Herod as their king while he was alive. At length,

however, Herod having purchased the good will of Antony with a large supply of money, Antigonus was put to death. And Josephus concludes—"Thus did the government of the Asmoneans cease, one hundred and twenty-six years after it was first set up." (Ant. xiv, xvi, 4).

Now the government of the Asmoneans was first set up by Judas Maccabeus in the spring of B.C. 162. For Judas was besieged in Jerusalem in the sabbatical year 163, in the 150th year of the Seleucidæ—and in the month Adar following, that is in March B.C. 162, he gained a victory over Nicanor, and soon after was made high priest (Ant. xii, x, 6). If we deduct then 126 years from Nisan B.C. 162, we arrive at Nisan B.C. 36 for the first year of Herod after the death of Antigonus.

I cannot conceive how any historian could have more accurately laid down the chain of reckoning from the time of Judas Maccabeus to the banishment of Archelaus, than it has here been laid down by Josephus,—nor how Josephus could have fixed the last year of the reign of Herod, and the end of the first year, and the beginning of the second year of the reign of Archelaus, more precisely than he has done by means of the eclipse of January B.C. 1.

It is not true then, as stated by the Reviewer, that "we may deduce from Josephus that Herod the Great died in the spring of the year B.C. 4"; and it is true, that our Lord was born either in the autumn of B.C. 3, or the spring of B.C. 2 as laid down by St. Luke.

Accordingly, Clement of Alexandria[1] writes—"Our Lord was born in the twenty-eighth year" (that is the 28th year of the Egyptian era of the battle of Actium, Aug. B.C. 3–2), "when first the census was ordered to be taken in the reign of Augustus."—"And there are those who have determined not only the year of the Lord's birth, but also the day; and they say that it took place in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, and in the twenty-fifth day of Pachon."—Strom. 1.

[1] Clement is here computing in the Egyptian era of Augustus. The battle of Actium was fought in Sept. B.C. 31. But the era of Nabonassar was put an end to, and the first Thoth of the new era of Actium took place in Egypt in the XVIth Julian year, and on the 29th Aug. in the era of Nabonassar 719, that is on the 29th Aug. B.C. 30. See "Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum," pp. 453, 454.

This then was the tradition within two hundred years after the death of Christ.

VI.

I must not omit to mention that there is another reckoning of Josephus, and apparently a consistent one, which places the years of the reign of Herod one year higher, and this has given occasion to much confusion concerning his chronology. When Josephus, in his "History of the Jewish War," speaks of the deposition of Archelaus, he tells us that Archelaus had a dream, when he saw *nine ears of corn*, which were eaten up by oxen. One of the Essenes interpreted this to mean that he should reign not more than nine years.

But in his "Antiquities" he relates the same anecdote, making the number of ears of corn *ten* instead of nine. And if his tenth year was concurrent with the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium,[1] and began in Nisan A.D. 7, his first year would of course have begun in Nisan B.C. 3, one year earlier than I have placed it.

Again, consistently with either reckoning, he speaks of the seventh year of Herod, (either ending or beginning in Nisan B.C. 30,) as concurrent with the year after the battle of Actium. And again, in apparent consistency with an earlier reckoning of his reign, Herod in his speech on the occasion of the pulling down the golden eagle, speaks of the Asmonean kings having reigned for 125 years, instead of 126, during which they had not done so much for the Jews as he had done in a much shorter time.

Now both the forms of the above anecdote cannot be correct. One or other is untrue. And so both these reckonings of Herod's reign cannot be correct. One or other must be rejected.

It is easy to see which to abide by, and which to reject. For Herod has truly stated that the Asmoneans had but 125 years within which to effect improvements in the state of Judæa, because during the first half of the 126th, and last year of their government, Antigonus was besieged, and

[1] Jos. Ant. xviii, ii. 1.

during the remaining six months he must have been in prison. Moreover the first only of these reckonings, which I have followed, is consistent with the fact, that Herod's reign was computed from the death of Antigonus, not from the conquest of that king.

I have now, I believe, performed my task, as far as archæology is concerned, in fixing the time of the Nativity of Christ. But there is another view of this subject which I am sure would be interesting to all present, though it is too late to enter upon it on this occasion. I mean the connection of the date of the birth of Christ in the sabbatical year B.C. 3–2, with the fulfilment of the predicted "seventy weeks" of years spoken of by Daniel, that is of seventy *sabbatical weeks*, counted from the time when Darius, the king under whom Daniel lived, was "about threescore and two years' old." On this subject perhaps I may be permitted to address you at some future time.

NOTE ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE ASSYRIANS.

By H. F. Talbot, D.C.L., F.R.S.

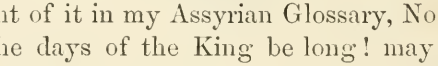
Read 7th November, 1871.

It is a question, which I believe has not hitherto received any satisfactory answer, whether or not the Assyrians believed in the immortality of the soul and a future state of happiness? There is nothing, as far as I am aware, in the historical inscriptions which throws any light upon this subject, but on the clay tablets of the British Museum I have found two passages which I think indicate their belief with sufficient certainty. They are both prayers for the happiness of the King, first upon earth, and afterwards in a future life. The first of these inscriptions is unfortunately broken, just where it becomes most interesting, but the second is sufficiently perfect.

I.

The first prayer is found in 2 R 38, 45: I have given some account of it in my Assyrian Glossary, No. 143.

"May the days of the King be long! may his years be prolonged! may he live his life in happiness!" Then follows a remarkable passage which evidently refers to a future life in heaven reserved for the king. For, having prayed for earthly felicity and length of life, the scribe now speaks of heaven: therefore no doubt he is asking for a heavenly life.

 *tsirrit shamami rapsuti libbita-su*, the summit of high heaven, "may he behold it!" Here the inscription is broken off.

The only word requiring explanation is *libbita*, which I

derive from the Heb. נבט 'to behold,' of which the future is יביט and the imperative הבט; from which we get the optative *libit*. The verb means 'to behold' with the accusative following.—Job xxxv, 5. Genesis xv, 5. The passage of Genesis illustrates and remarkably confirms the explanation which I have given. "Look now towards heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be!" הבט־נא השמימה, 'look now towards heaven!' Here the verb is used exactly as in the Assyrian writing—of looking *up to heaven*. Hebrew: Ebit ha-shamima! *behold the heavens!* Assyrian, in the optative: (l)ibbita shamami! *may he behold the heavens!* And also in the fine passage in Job xxxv, 5, "Look unto the heavens and see; and behold the clouds which are higher than thou!" the verb employed is הבט as before.

II.

But the second prayer is far more explicit, and possesses uncommon interest. It is published in the new volume of British Museum Inscriptions, pl. 66, reverse col. III.

"Length of days—long lasting years—a strong sword—a long life—extended years of glory—pre-eminence among kings—grant ye to the King my lord, who has given such gifts to his gods!

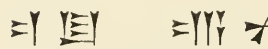
"The bounds vast and wide of his Empire and of his Rule, may he enlarge and may he complete! Holding over all kings supremacy and royalty and empire, may he attain to grey hairs and old age!

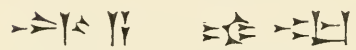
"And after the gift of these present days, in the feasts of the land of the silver sky—the refulgent Courts—the abode of blessedness: and in the Light of the *Happy Fields*, may he dwell a life eternal—holy—in the presence of the gods who inhabit Assyria!"

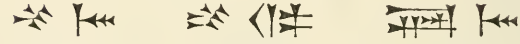
To enable Assyrian scholars to form their own opinion, I annex a copy of the Inscription, with Version and Notes:—

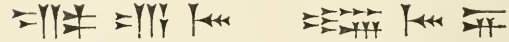
1.
Tami tsiri [buda]
Days *long*

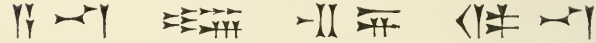
2.
satti darati
years *long-lasting*

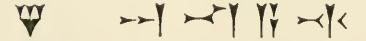
3. 
isku dannu
a sword *strong*

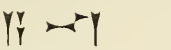
4. 
bula arka
life *long*

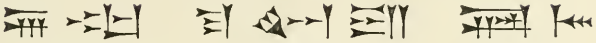
5. 
satti gabdi rapasti
years *of glory* *extended*

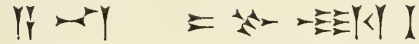
6. 
asaridut sarini
preeminence *among kings*

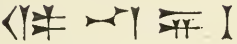
7. 
ana sar belni dina
to *the king* *my lord* *grant*

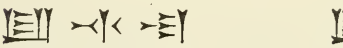
8. 
sha annati
who *these things*

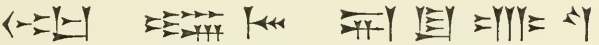
9. 
ana ili-su idannu
to *his gods* *has given*

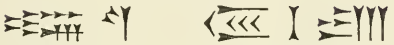
10. 
irka mahida rapasti
limits *vast* (*and*) *wide*

11. 
ana tabbuli-su
to *his empire*

12. 
dinani-su
(*and*) *to his rule*

13. 
lu-tila lu-shalim
may he enlarge (*and*) *may he complete*

14. 
eli sarini malkut
over (*all*) *kings* *sovereignty*

15. 
sarrut kussut
royalty (*and*) *empire*

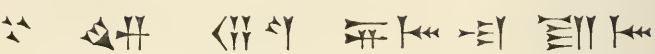
16.
ebus shabut
exercising, (*to*) *gray hairs*

17.
labirut lillik
(*and*) *old age* *may he attain!*

18.

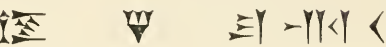
Ana mitan tami annuti

In addition to the gift of days these

19. 

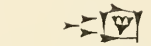
mat im kaspa kisalla shariri

the land of the silver sky, the courts refulgent

20. 

mûn sha barikiti

the abode of blessedness

21. 

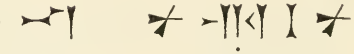
ana akulli-sun

in their feasts :

22.

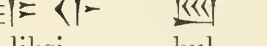
u kiriru khiga

and the fields delightful

23. 

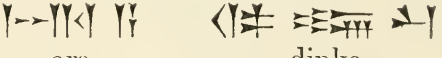
ana nuri-sun

in their light

24. 

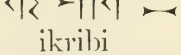
libsi bul da-

may he dwell a life eter-

25. 

-ara dinka

-nal holy

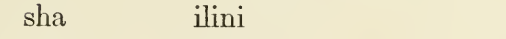
26. 

ikribi

in the presence

27.

sha ilini
of the gods

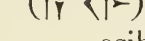
28. 

asibut mat Assur
inhabiting Assyria.

NOTES.

LINE

5. *Gabdi* may be the Heb. כבוד, honour, glory.

6. *reshdan* or *sakdan* always means 'the first' or 'greatest'; from  *resh* or *sak* 'the head' Heb. ראש, Accadian *sak;* but it is often transcribed by the word *asariddan.*

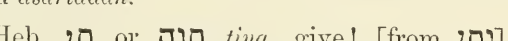
7. *Dina*, Heb. תן or תנה *tina*, give! [from נתן]. We might also render it 'adjudge!' from דין judicare.

10. *Irka*, ends, bounds, limits (generally very remote ones); Heb. ירכה.

11. *Tabbul* 'dominatio': this I would derive from Heb. בעל dominus, which occurs very frequently in Assyrian.

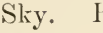
12. *Dinani*, rule; from דין regere.

13. *Lu-tila.* This verb *dil* or *edil* 'to enlarge' is found in Layard's Inscr., pl. 70, l. 23. *mudil* 'the enlarger' (of the great national temple). Lu-salim, שלם 'to finish' as 1 Kings ix, 25, "So he finished the temple."

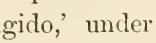
16. *Sarrut ebus*, 'exercising sovereignty' *i.e.* 'reigning.' This phrase is very common, the verb *ebus* being almost always selected to be employed in connexion with *sarrut*, *billut*, &c. For instance in Sargon's Cylinder, l. 35—"Of 350 kings who had reigned over Assyria before me, not one among them ever thought of doing such great things as I have done." Here 'they had reigned' is expressed by *billut ebusu*  *Shabut:* see my Glossary, No. 193.

LINE

18. *Mitan* 'a gift,' is the Heb. מתן donum.

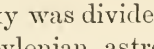
19. the Sky. Hence  was the god of the sky, equivalent to the Latin Jupiter (Horace: 'sub Jove frigido,' under the cold sky). This god wielded the thunderbolt and was therefore a *Jupiter Tonans.*

The sky was divided into four quarters by the Chaldean and Babylonian astrologers, and they were careful to note in which quarter a phenomenon was seen. These quarters had names: but they are often compendiously written , , , .

 'The land of the silver sky.' A poetical phrase for 'Heaven.' It suffices to quote Pope's well known lines:

> *Or ask of yonder* ARGENT *fields above*
> *Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove.*

 kisalla (see Norris's Dictionary, p. 622). In many of the places where *kisalla* occurs it appears to me to mean a Court or Area. Where some have translated it 'Altar' I think it is rather the court in which the altar stood.

20.  *Mun* is the Heb. מען 'domicilium,' often used in a very exalted sense, *ex. gr.* Dei, de templo, Ps. xxvi, 8; de cælo, Ps. lxviii, 6; Deut. xxvi, 15. (Gesenius). Hence the word is very suitable to our passage, where it means the *Abode* (of *Blessedness*). This sense of *Mûn* (domicilium, habitatio) has been hitherto overlooked in Assyrian. It is derived from the Hebrew root ען habitare. But *Mûn* also represents the Heb. מאון from the root און wealth, goods, 'commoda vitæ,' which is quite different from ען. This latter signification מאון has alone been noticed by Assyrian scholars, who correctly render by 'good things,' 'benefits,' &c., following Syllabary 165 . *Barikiti*, 'blessedness.' Heb. ברך to bless.

LINE

21. The sign sounded *akul*, as Mr. Smith informs me. I think it here means 'feasting' Heb. אכל. The ancient Germans believed that the spirits of the blest dwelt in Valhalla, feasting and drinking nectar in the company of the gods. The Greeks and Romans had a similar belief. The spirits of heroic and virtuous men were admitted to the table of the gods. 'Nec deus hunc *mensâ*,' &c., says Virgil in the fourth Eclogue: and Horace

> . . . . . Jovis interest
> *Optatis epulis* impiger Hercules.

22. *Kiriru khiga*, 'delightful fields': like the Elysian fields of the Greek mythology. Heb. כר *pratum, campus;* from root כרר see Schindler's Lex. p. 892. Furst, p. 692, says: כר "a fat pasture; a luxuriant meadow." This well represents the *ασφοδελον λειμωνα* of Homer, the abode of the spirits of the blest:

> . . . . . *αιψα δ' ἱκοντο κατ' ασφοδελον λειμωνα*
> *ενθα τε ναιουσι ψυχαι, ειδωλα καμοντων.*
>
> Od. ω. 13.

This Assyrian word *kiriru* demonstrates the accuracy of Hebrew scholars in giving כרר and not כר as the original word.

23. Here the syntax of the Assyrian deserves particular remark. They put the substantives first, that are the subjects of discourse, *mat—kisalla—mûn—ana akulli-sun*, instead of *ana akulli sha mat, kisalla, mûn.* Again, *kiriru ana nuri-sun*, instead of *ana nuri sha kiriru.* This syntax has the great advantage of presenting the principal word first, and therefore more vividly, but it may easily mislead one only accustomed to the Latin syntax. In the early part of this paper there was an example of this syntax: 'the summit of heaven, may he behold it!' instead of 'may he behold the summit of heaven!'

24. *Libsi*, from *basa* 'to dwell': see my Glossary, No. 221, Norris's Dictionary, p. 129. (Unless it be the same as *libsu* 'may he make'—).

LINE

24. *Dara*, 'eternal.' It will be objected no doubt that this word is divided between two lines, contrary to the usual custom. But exceptions occur sometimes to this rule. For instance in pl. 70 of Layard's Inscriptions, l. 3, the word *shanan* is divided between two lines, and in l. 13 of same plate *abubanish* is divided: l. 13 ends with *abu*, and l. 14 commences with *banish*.

25. *Dinka* is I think the same as *damka* which is usually written in the Accadian form and is a word of constant occurrence meaning holy, happy, prosperous. It is also like *dunku* which is equally rendered by . These may be dialectic variations merely.

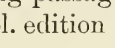
26. *Ikribi sha ili*, 'in the presence of the gods.' The verb קרב is of great importance in Assyrian: it denotes prayer, sacrifice, approach to the gods, and reciprocally their approach to man—their blessing. I have generally rendered *likrubu ili ana sar belni-ya* by "may the gods be *propitious* to my lord the king!" Elsewhere we find: "may the gods bless or come nigh to (*likrubu*) the city of Assur and the land of Assur" [3 R 66, cols. iv and vi]. Schindler renders קרב accessit ad aliquid; appropinquavit: propinquus fuit: also attigit: adhæsit. Hence the reason why I have rendered *ikribi sha ili* 'in the presence of the gods.'

Ikribi often means a *drawing nigh* to the gods with sacrifice and prayer (Lat. *propitiatio*). The same idea is found often in the Bible. "*Draw nigh* to God: he will *draw nigh* to you." James iv, 8. In fact, *propitius* originally meant 'coming nigh' (from *propè* and *ire, itio*). Cicero: ita deos mihi velim propitios! which he elsewhere expresses, Deus *occurrit* nobis in precibus, in optatis, in votis. So when the gods designed to approach their votaries and listen to their prayers, they were said to be *præsentes*.

> Et vos agrestum præsentia numina, Fauni.
>
> (Virg.)

¶ *Kisalla shariri* in l. 19 should perhaps be translated 'bright assemblies or crowds, or companies.' My reason for

attributing such a value to the root KSL rests upon the two following passages:—

1. Oppert's fol. edition of Sargon, p. 16, l. 41  *assu kisalla* I summoned an *assembly* [of corn-growers: and I bought all the Corn they had, &c. &c.]

2. Sargon, p. 17, l. 53, after a description of the building of his new city Dur-Sargina, the king adds: *Alsu bani-su, mikhrat uksul*, I collected its inhabitants; and I *assembled* a congregation (or *πανηγυρις*) Heb. מקרא. This was preparatory to a grand thanksgiving and festival to the gods. The verb *uksul* (I assembled) would give KSL 'an assembly.'

¶ The last line is somewhat fractured; otherwise the inscription is in excellent condition.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF SOME CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS.

By R. Hamilton Lang, H.M. Consul at Larnaca.

Read 7th November, 1871.

To the Duke de Luynes is due the credit of proving the existence of a Cyprian Alphabet, and his volume, "Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes," published in 1852, is still the only important work upon the subject. In it was communicated to the public all the Cyprian inscriptions which were then known, as well as copies of a large number of coins bearing legends in Cyprian letters. From these sources the learned Duke compiled a Cyprian Alphabet containing eighty letters, many of which he considered to be homiphones. Since the publication of this work of the Duke de Luynes, many more Cyprian inscriptions and coins have been brought to light, and it has been my good fortune to discover some of the most important of these interesting monuments. The materials which have come into my possession as connected with this subject are:—

1st. A Spatula, in silver, upon which is a Cyprian inscription, consisting of eighteen letters, beautifully perfect.

2nd. A Bilingual Inscription, upon marble, in Phœnician and Cyprian characters, of which the Cyprian portion is nearly perfect, and, by a fortunate coincidence, other Phœnician inscriptions, found at the same place and time, enable us to supply, with considerable certainty, the portions which are awanting in the Phœnician text. This inscription was uncovered in my excavations of an ancient temple at Idalion, in Cyprus.

3rd. An Inscription, upon soft stone, consisting of eight letters, also found in excavating the temple at Idalion.

4th. A very ancient Bas Relief, in hard stone, of a Naked Archer, having an inscription in Cyprian letters of three lines, found near a village called Salamiou, about fifteen miles from Paphos.

5th. Three very interesting Cyprian Inscriptions, found at a place called Drimou, about half way between Soli and Ktima. Two of these inscriptions exhibit striking peculiarities in the formation of many of the letters. They are also perfect, which is of great importance.

6th. An Inscription, in Cyprian letters, found in excavating a temple at Pila, near Larnaca.

7th. The Coins contained in two treasures uncovered in excavating the temple at Idalion, amongst which we find six classes of coins bearing Cyprian legends.

8th. A variety of fragmentary pieces of Cyprian Inscriptions, found in different parts of the island.

The possession of these monuments has led me to study the interesting philological questions presented by the Cyprian Alphabet, and to examine the materials which were possessed by the Duke de Luynes, and the conclusions to which he came, both as to the origin of the alphabet and as to its reading. Unfortunately, my examination of the subject induces me to differ from the conclusions of the learned Duke upon the most important points, and it is in no spirit of presumption, but from a simple desire after truth, that I venture in the following remarks to criticise these conclusions, and to suggest some new ideas upon this subject. In examining the different Cyprian inscriptions as yet in our possession, remarkable variations in the apparent structure of many of the letters are apparent; but I have been able to satisfy myself that in most cases these variations only indicate the different epochs in which the inscriptions were written, or arise from the imperfect knowledge of the graver. I think I am able to trace such differences in the inscriptions as are found between the manner of writing the English characters two centuries ago and that of to-day. Thus, the most ancient specimen of Cyprian writing in my possession

I conceive to be the inscription over the Bas Relief of a Naked Archer, and, perhaps, the most modern, that upon the Spatule. Upon some of the inscriptions from Drimou, other peculiarities appear. In one there is a letter formed thus , and upon another we find a letter traced in this manner . Both these letters appear at first sight different, and also would seem to differ from the frequently-found letter . But a close comparison of the words proves beyond doubt that all the three letters are one and the same, and the differences which appear arise simply from the caprice or ignorance of the graver.[1]

This is true in regard to many other letters, and in a marked way in variations of the letter , which we find as , or again ; the general appearance seems different, but in reality the letters are the same. Not having sufficiently observed this circumstance, many letters crept into the Cyprian Alphabet of the Duke de Luynes as distinct letters, which are really only variations; and some letters I find in that alphabet for which there does not seem satisfactory proof. I was, therefore, led to compile an alphabet, which appears to me to contain all the letters which we are justified by our *perfect* inscriptions in considering as distinct letters, and which amount to only 51, as against 80 noted by the Duke de Luynes. The learned Duke considered many of the letters in his alphabet to be homophones, and of this there seems to be little doubt. Thus the differences between and seem by a variety of proofs to be small, such probably as exists between ε long and short in Greek.[2]

[1] The proof of this is found by examination of a group of five letters upon two of my Drimou Inscriptions, and upon the Bilingual. For the proof of the other variety in the formation of the same letter, see the repetition of such groups as and , which stand for and , so common in all inscriptions.

[2] From examination of the Tablet of Dali, and comparing the different words in its texts, I find that—

, , are used indiscriminately in words Nos. 26 and 7, 35 and 12, 46 and 65, and 44 and 92, and 184.

 and appear to resemble each other in sound; by a comparison of

The manner in which I have grouped the letters in the alphabet annexed shows at a glance the system upon which they are formed. They consist of lines placed in various positions. Thus we have what I call simple letters, as taking the compound forms of , , , &c., and becoming , , , ; or again, becoming , , , and , which I take to be a compound letter formed of and . I found it to be of the utmost importance rightly to apprehend this system of structure, as it explains with ease slight variations in the appearance of the strokes, which their number and position at once makes clear.

Of the eighty letters which the Duke de Luynes identified, he found that seven resembled Phœnician, twelve Lycian, and twenty-seven Egyptian characters. Of the seven letters, however, which are thought to resemble Phœnician ones, there are only two which are found in inscriptions, and the remaining five cannot be made out with certainty from the coins. The points of resemblance, therefore, between the Cyprian and the Phœnician alphabets are very few—fewer indeed than I should have expected, seeing that frequently in Cyprian inscriptions mention must be made of Phœnician names of people and places.[1]

Of the twenty-seven letters which, according to the Duke de Luynes, resemble Egyptian characters, I find that the resemblance is exact in regard to three,[2] and very strong in five more,[3] but quite fanciful in regard to the

word No. 63 with Nos. 48 and 44, and reference to the same words would lead me to suppose that the letter written is like either in power or sound.

and are proved to be the same, from words No. 69 and 114.

and are shown to be identical, from words Nos. 76, 146, and 168.

and would appear to be the same from words Nos. 95 and 192.

and

and } appear to represent small differences.

[1] The seven letters which resemble Phœnician ones are Nos. 11A, 11, 12, 14, 39, 52, and 77: of these only Nos. 11 and 52 are found in inscriptions.

[2] Nos. 7, 8, and 9 of Duke de Luynes' Alphabet.

[3] Nos. 2, 20, 24, 44, and 47. Id.

remainder. Besides, I think any student of languages will agree with me, that the structure and principles (if I may use the expression) of the Cyprian and the Egyptian writing is entirely different; so much so that it seems impossible to suppose the former to be derived from the latter; and the difference is as great as that between the cuneiform writing and the hieroglyphic.

But the relationship between the Cyprian and the Lycian letters seems to me much more intimate. A glance at the Inscriptions published by Sir Charles Fellows will suffice to show that the Lycian writing is a compound of letters peculiar to Lycia and others peculiar to Greece; and we are forced to the conclusion that, at the date of the inscriptions, the Lycians largely borrowed Greek letters to facilitate them in the conveyance of sound by writing. That the letters peculiar to Lycia were not engrafted on a Greek alphabet we need not stop to show, and may in all safety presume that those letters which, in the Lycian writing, are not of Greek origin, belong to, and are the remains of, an ancient alphabet which had ceased to satisfy the wants of the Lycian writers. From the various Lycian Inscriptions published by Sir Charles Fellows, I have extracted all the letters which may not be of Greek origin, and they are as follow:—

Of these letters (in all twenty in number), thirteen are identically the same as letters found in Cyprian Inscriptions; while in judging of the remaining seven, it must be remembered that the copies of the most important Lycian Inscriptions were taken from such a distance as to render it difficult to distinguish small peculiarities. Thus may have easily been making it exactly the same as a Cyprian letter, and may have been , or , . But the strongest feature of relationship between the Cyprian and Lycian Alphabets consists in the fact, that the structure of the letters of the two alphabets is the same. Thus we have, in the

Lycian letters above quoted, simple and compound ones, such as ⊢, +, V, and F̄, ✳, /\̄, and the letters are formed by a certain number of lines in the same way as we have shown is peculiar to Cyprian writing. In short, the resemblance between these Lycian letters and others in the Cyprian Alphabet is so great, that, had the group which they form been found upon a stone in Cyprus, the inscription would unhesitatingly have been declared to be Cyprian. Indeed I have read that Captain Graves, on finding a Cyprian inscription in Cyprus, supposed it to be Lycian, from the great resemblance which the characters bore to those upon inscriptions that he had assisted to remove from Lycia.

The conclusion to which I would come is, that the Cyprian and ancient Lycian Alphabets were both derived from the same source; but that [either because they had lost the full knowledge of their ancient language, or found that Greek letters were more expressive of the sounds to be conveyed] the Lycians engrafted upon their ancient alphabet a great many Greek letters, while in Cyprus the ancient alphabet was preserved in its original purity and power.

Mr. Daniel Sharpe, in his essay upon the Lycian Alphabet, says: "The manner of declension of the pronouns and nouns, and of the conjugation of the verbs, soon convinced me ... that Lycian was one of that large family of languages to which the German Philologists have given the name of Indo-Germanic. The abundance of vowels then suggested a comparison with the Zend language. The result was the conviction that Lycian has a greater resemblance to Zend than to any other known language." Should these remarks be correct, we may presume that the Cyprian Alphabet is also of Indo-Germanic origin. It is generally admitted that the Lycian Alphabet expresses a distinct and peculiar language, and that even when Greek letters were largely used they did not express Greek words. Supposing a strong affinity, which to me appears incontestible, between the Lycian and Cyprian Alphabets, is it not probable that the Cyprian letters express a language nearly, if not altogether

the same as that which was used in Lycia? Any progress, therefore, made in the decyphering of Lycian inscriptions may be of use in arriving at some knowledge of the language which was meant to be conveyed by the Cyprian letters.

Unlike the Lycian, the Cyprian writing is clearly proved, by the "Tablet of Dali,"[1] to read from right to left.[2] The Count de Vogüé, in the "Journal Asiatique," says that Cyprian writing appears sometimes to be read from right to left and at other times from left to right; but no inscription has come under my observation which justifies such a supposition—all, without exception, read from right to left. Sometimes upon coins the legend reads inversely, but this was a frequent error on the part of ancient die-cutters.[3]

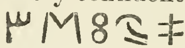
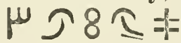
Before passing from the letters to the words in Cyprian inscriptions, I would remark that three Cyprian letters are found in Chaldean inscriptions. Thus, upon a "Signet Cylinder of a very ancient King," copied by Professor Rawlinson, we find . , exactly resembling Nos. 20 and 33 in the Alphabet annexed, and very strongly resembles No. 24 of the same alphabet. Referring to the Chaldean people, the learned Professor says: "Besides the two main constituents" (Cushite and Turanian) "of the Chaldean race, there is reason to believe that both a Semitic and Aryan element existed in the early population of the country which ultimately blended with the others." And in another place: "The language of the early inscriptions is found to contain a considerable Semitic and a small Aryan element." May not the Chaldean letters shown above as resembling

[1] This Tablet, published by the Duke de Luynes, was found on an eminence a little to the south of the present village of Dali,—the ancient Idalion.

[2] For proof of this, see , which is divided at lines Nos. 4, 16, and 23, and found connected in lines 7, 12, 14. , which is divided at lines 7, and connected at lines 3, 5, 11, and 12.

[3] Since reading this paper to the Society, I have seen at the Louvre a Cyprian Inscription which apparently reads from left to right. This justifies the statement of the Count de Vogüé: but such examples are very rare.

certain in the Cyprian Alphabet, be traces of that Aryan element to which the Cypriotes were allied, if we suppose the earliest inhabitants of the island to have been of Javanian descent?

No success has as yet attended the efforts of philologists to read the Cyprian writing. The most pretentious effort has been that of Professor Von Röth, who thought to discover in the "Tablet of Dali" a proclamation of Amasis king of Egypt to the inhabitants of Cyprus. But, not to mention other defects, the Professor so arbitrarily and constantly ignores the clear pointing in the text of the inscription, that his translation must be declared more ingenious than correct. The Duke de Luynes felt very confident in his reading of the word , or  , and believed that it stood for *Salamis*. Professor Von Röth accepted this reading, and both made it the key to their studies. Some years ago I felt strongly impressed with the conviction that this reading was erroneous, and as the point is of importance I shall endeavour to explain the ground of my doubts. The Duke de Luynes, in the preface to his work "Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes," informs us that it was the letter found upon a coin attributed by Borrell to Menelaus, brother of Ptolemy, which led him to connect the whole word  with Salamis, "as that prince had hardly ever been able to leave that city, being pressed by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who kept him besieged within its walls." Now this assumption I conceive to be incorrect, as the history of the island at that period shows us that Menelaus had perfect liberty in the island for at least two years, nor was it likely that he should begin to coin gold money when undergoing a siege. Besides, I feel inclined to doubt the correctness of the attribution of this coin to Menelaus, who was never other than the simple representative in Cyprus of his brother Ptolemy, and was only left alone in the island while the latter contended with Antigonus in Syria and Cilicia. It seems to me, therefore, highly improbable that Ptolemy allowed his representative to coin money which bore no reference to the real possessor of the island; on the contrary, which bore the initials of one

who was not its possessor. To suppose that Menelaus coined such a money would imply that he had asserted his independence, and of such a fact we could not fail to have record in history. If genuine, the coin may not the less belong to Cyprus, seeing that one of the nine kings who reigned in the island about the middle of the fourth century B.C., may have had the name of Menelaus. Having started upon this false assumption, the Duke de Luynes is forced to attribute to Salamis all coins bearing the Cyprian letters or legend above referred to, and it is indeed surprising he did not perceive that in doing so he was led into great inconsistency. Not only was he obliged to give to Salamis *eight* classes of coins, all dissimilar both in character and type, but also to suppose a number of coins as issued by confederacies of different towns in the island, confederacies of which we have no knowledge whatever.[1]

In referring to coins Nos. 8 to 12 of his Plate No. 3, the Duke says, that "their legends mutually complete themselves, and that from all together a Phœnician legend can with certainty be made out, which, on being read backwards, is found to be "Salamis." I have studied with the utmost attention the copies of these coins, but cannot make out a Phœnician legend. All the letters upon these coins which can be distinguished with precision are Cyprian, and, from study of other specimens, I feel sure that that class of coins only bears Cyprian legends. But it is remarkable that this word, which is read by the Duke de Luynes as Salamis, occurs upon nearly all coins bearing Cyprian legends. Thus, I find that the full word or part of it appears upon thirty-two of the coins published by the Duke de Luynes, and further, that it is invariably followed on the obverse or

[1] The following are our proofs for this statement:—In Plate I of the Duke de Luynes, we have to assume a confederacy between Salamis and Amathus, and another between Salamis and Lapithus. In Plate III quite a different character of coin is given to Salamis, and one amongst them is made to represent a confederacy between Salamis and Paphos. In Plate IV, we have still a different class of coins, but they also are given to Salamis. In Plate V one coin is attributed to Salamis, in confederation with some unknown town. Plate VI contains two new types of coins, and both are fathered upon Salamis. Lastly, in Plate VII we find another class of coins given to Salamis.

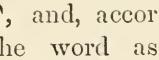
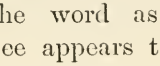
reverse by another word, or letters belonging to another word. This circumstance led me to suppose that 𐤌 𐤊 𐤏 𐤋 𐤉, or 𐤋 𐤉, or 𐤉, stood for King—a word which would naturally appear upon the coins of the various kingdoms in the island, and being simply a title, it was to be expected that it should be followed by letters or a word giving the name or designation of the king. This latter would vary upon the coins, while the title did not; and such we find to be the case.

In the Phœnico-Cyprian inscription, of which the text is now shown, we find that the word read by the Duke de Luynes as Salamis begins the Cyprian portion. It is repeated with a variant for the fourth letter, and the last letter 𐤌 was probably carried forward to the beginning of the second line. The Phœnician text of this inscription is read by my friend Mr. D. Pierides thus:—

"The . . . . day of the month . . . . in the fourth year of King Melekithan King of Kition and of Idalion, this statue was set up and dedicated by our Lord Baalram, son of . . . . to our god Reshep Mikal; may He (the divinity named) hear his voice and bless him."

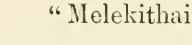
It will be noticed that in this there is not the slightest mention of Salamis. The word, however, read by the Duke de Luynes as Salamis, not only appears, but it is observable that it is the *only* word in the Cyprian part of the text which is repeated. We naturally examine what word is found repeated in the Phœnician part of the text, and find that the only word in the Phœnician text which occurs twice is the word king; thus, *King* Melekithain *King* of Ketion, &c. This evidence, added to the strong presumption from coins already dwelt upon, leaves no doubt whatever in my mind that the correct reading of the word 𐤌 𐤍 𐤏 𐤋 𐤉 is King. Having arrived at this conviction, we are lead to consider what may be the sound of these letters which, grouped together, we believe to stand for King. By a curious coincidence, the Phœnician word for king forms part of the name of the king mentioned in the inscription, and is therefore found thus, "Melek Melekithain Melek." Had the

sound of the Cyprian letters for king been Melek, the group would have been found thrice, which apparently it is not. But I would draw attention to the word read as king in the Lycian Inscriptions by Mr. Sharpe. It occurs frequently on the obelisk at Xanthus, and once in Inscription No. 23 of Plate 36, in Sir C. Fellows' work. We find it copied thus, , and, according to Mr. Sharpe, we should pronounce the word as "sēwe" or "shēwe." A striking resemblance appears to me visible between that group of letters and the Cyprian one under consideration. This will be evident from the following comparison—

Cyprian  , and
Lycian  .

For the first Cyprian letter the Lycians substituted the Greek form of *sigma*, while the second, third, and fourth closely resemble each other in both Cyprian and Lycian. Mr. Sharpe says is always a consonant, and may fairly be rendered *w*. I would suggest that the sound may rather be similar to that preserved to us in the *b* of modern Greek, and more nearly represented by *v*, as modern Greeks say *Vasilefs* for ***ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ***. We might thus render the sound of the Lycian word for king by "seve," as modern Greeks pronounce the first part of ***Σεβαστος***; and this may also be the sound of the Cyprian word which we read as king. Reading the first word in the Cyprian portion of the text as king, I sometimes think that the rest of that line might read—

"Melekithain Ketiou and Idaliou king."

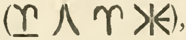
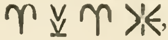
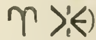
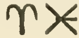
The signs at the end of the third and fourth Cyprian words (viz.), the Duke de Luynes considers to be marks of punctuation, but I am not inclined to regard them as such. From the positions in which they usually occur, I am rather disposed to consider them as terminals which indicate the genitive case, as "ou" in Greek. The variations in the terminals of several words appear to me expressive of the case in which they are used. Thus, when we find  , and in another place , I

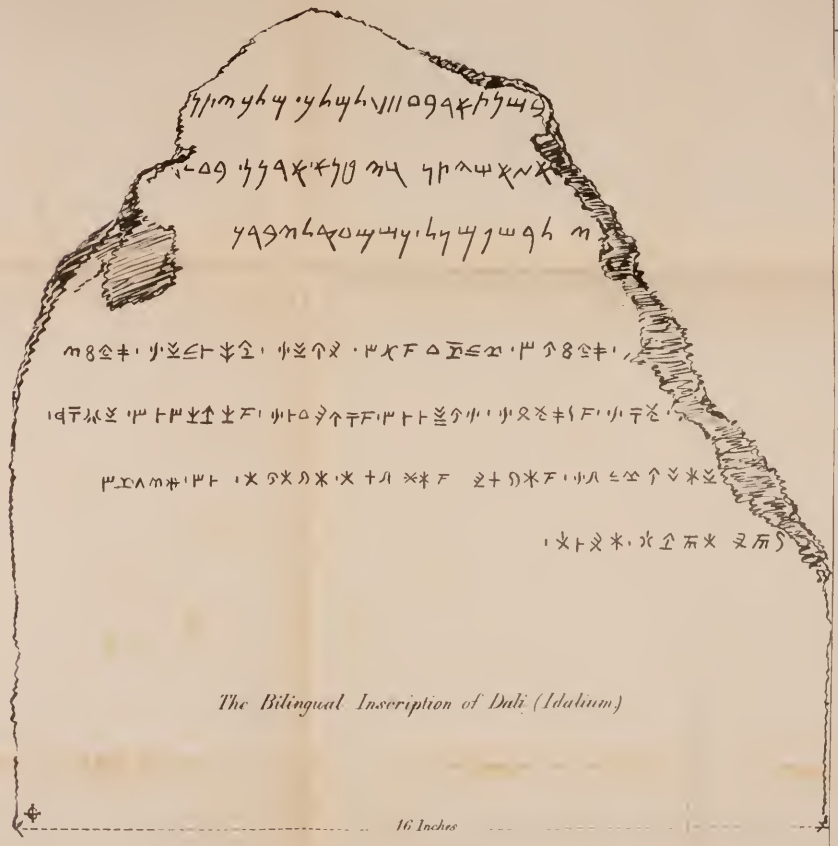
would suppose the different terminals to indicate a different case, as, for example, the former the genitive case and the latter the accusative. Again, is a common terminal, and may perhaps also indicate a particular case. We find also and , and might conjecture that the latter is a plural form of the former.

The last word in the Bilingual Inscription deserves to be noticed. In the Phœnician portion it is rendered "Let him be blessed!" And this may be the meaning of the last word in the Cyprian text. I would remark that the word occurs in the eighth, seventeenth, and twenty-third lines of the Tablet of Dali, followed by a group of two letters, in both cases the same. From this I would conjecture that the tablet is a collection of sentences, each of which terminates with the ejaculation, "Let .... be blessed." After this ejaculation commences a new sentence, and it is to be noticed that in most cases the word "King" figures at the beginning of the sentence.

With these remarks I leave the subject to the study of more learned and abler men, in the sincere hope that before very long this lost language may be made known to us; and I am certain that when such a result is attained we shall arrive at a fuller and better knowledge of much of Cyprian history which is now obscure. I shall continue my efforts for the discovery of Cyprian inscriptions in the island, and I trust that the number may soon be increased of earnest philologists, making the Cyprian dialect their especial study. In it we have a child long lost both to the sight and knowledge of the world, and I feel confident that more extended research will prove that the pedigree of this foundling is of more than usual philological interest and importance.

For the assistance of other students of this question, I would draw attention to , which appears in the Bilingual, and upon the beautiful Soli Inscription found by Mr. Grasset, and published in the "Journal Asiatique" by the Count de Vogüé. The third word in this Soli Inscription appears in the legend of a coin shown at No. 2 of Plate V, in the Duke de Luynes' "Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes." I would conjecture that the first word in the Soli Inscription stands for "dedicated," or "set up," and the

third is the name of the dedicator whose coin is above referred to. Was he king of Soli? and is that type of coin peculiar to Soli? The last word in the third line of the Bilingual is found upon one of my Drimou Inscriptions as  , and upon another from the same place as  , while the first two letters (thus  are found upon a third inscription from Drimou, upon a small inscription from the temple at Idalion, and in the few letters of a bilingual inscription found by the Count de Vogüé, and published by him. The Greek portion of this last inscription the Count gives as ΚΑΡυξ ΕΙΜΙ, but he could not determine anything of the Cyprian. I would suggest that  stands for what is rendered in Greek as ΕΙΜΙ.



The Bilingual Inscription of Dali (Idalium)

16 Inches

The Cypriote Alphabet.

N°	Cypriote Letters	Lycian Letters	N°	Cypriote Letters	Lycian Letters
1	𐠀	𐊀	28	𐠨	𐊨
2	𐠁	𐊁	29	𐠩	𐊩
3	𐠂	𐊂	30	𐠪	
4	𐠃		31	𐠫	
5	𐠄	𐊄	32	𐠬	𐊬
6	𐠅 𐠆	𐊅	33	𐠭	
7	𐠇		34	𐠮	𐊮
8	𐠈		35	𐠯	𐊯
9	𐠉		36	𐠰	𐊰
10	𐠊		37	𐠱	
11	𐠋	𐊋	38	𐠲	
12	𐠌		39	𐠳	
13	𐠍	𐊍	40	𐠴	
14	𐠎		41	𐠵	
15	𐠏	𐊏	42	𐠶	
16	𐠐		43	𐠷	
17	𐠑	𐊑	44	𐠸	
18	𐠒		45	𐠹	
19	𐠓		46	𐠺	𐊺
20	𐠔	𐊔	47	𐠻	
21	𐠕	𐊕	48	𐠼	
22	𐠖		49	𐠽	
23	𐠗		50	𐠾	
24	𐠘 𐠙	𐊙	51	𐠿	(Only occurs upon coins of De Luynes)
25	𐠚			𐡀	(Another form of N° 5)
26	𐠛				
27	𐠜				

ON THE READING OF THE CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. Smith.

Read 7th November, 1871.

The Island of Cyprus has yielded to the antiquary a number of inscriptions on coins, bronze objects and stone, which have excited no little discussion among the learned. The inscriptions from Cyprus during the time of its native kings are of three kinds:—1st. Greek; 2nd. Phœnician; 3rd. Cypriote. The third class, or Cypriote Inscriptions, are composed of characters the phonetic values of which were until recently undetermined. Now, through the study of a bilingual inscription (Phœnician and Cypriote), I am, as I believe, able to throw some light on this subject. Before, however, going into the question of the phonetic values of these characters, I will give a sketch of the history of the island during the period when these inscriptions were in use.

Cyprus is situated in the Mediterranean Sea, having Asia Minor on its north, the coast of Phœnicia on the east, and Egypt on the south. In early times it was colonized by the Greeks and Phœnicians, and it is first mentioned in contemporary history in the latter part of the eighth century B.C., when Sargon king of Assyria having subdued Palestine, Syria, and Cilicia, extended his power over the neighbouring island of Cyprus. At this time Cyprus was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, and seven of its rulers sent ambassadors to Sargon at Babylon B.C. 709. After the wars and troubles of the time of Sennacherib we find the island subject to Esarhaddon king of Assyria, and ten kings of Cyprus sent him tribute.

In connection with the Assyrian dominion in Cyprus, I must notice a fine monolith of Sargon, which was found in the island, and is now in the Berlin Museum.

The Assyrian empire, before the close of the seventh

century, B.C. fell under the combined attack of the Babylonians, Medes and Egyptians, and Cyprus then probably became part of the empire of Nebuchadnezzar. On the death of Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian empire declined, and Cyprus was attacked and conquered by Amasis king of Egypt. Cambyses king of Persia afterwards made war with Amasis and conquered Cyprus, which remained under the Persian dominion down to the time of Evagoras king of Salamis, B.C. 410. Evagoras made a determined effort to throw off the yoke of Persia, and endeavoured to unite the island under one sceptre; the internal quarrels of the Cypriots, however, continued to give occasion for the interference of the Persians down to the time of Alexander the Great. After the death of Alexander, Ptolemy Lagus, one of his generals, who obtained possession of Egypt, made a descent upon Cyprus about B.C. 315, and conquered the island.

From this time the independence of Cyprus entirely ceased.

The remarkable Inscriptions from the Island of Cyprus attracted the attention of an able French scholar, the Duc de Luynes, who in 1852 published a valuable memoir on the subject. In this work, he gave fac-similes of all the known inscriptions in the Cypriote character, and an able discussion of the texts. Reviewing the inscriptions on a considerable number of Cypriote coins, he came to the conclusion that the characters upon them represented the names of the cities to which the coinage belonged, and comparing the characters on the coins with the inscription on a bronze plate discovered at Idalium, he further supposed that he recognised the name of Salamis, one of the principal Cypriote towns, on that inscription also.

Now that we have a bilingual inscription, we are enabled to see that these conjectures were not correct, but the work is still of considerable value on account of the beautifully executed plates of Cypriote Inscriptions.

Following in the steps of the Duc de Luynes came the memoir of Dr. Röth on the Bronze Tablet of Idalium. This author attempted to translate the inscription in question,

which he believed to be a proclamation of Amasis king of Egypt to the Cyprians whom he conquered. This supposed translation, founded on the conjectures of the Duc de Luynes, is equally incorrect. General Cesnola, American Consul at Larnaca, recently made some excavations at Golgos, in the middle of the Island of Cyprus; in that neighbourhood, and particularly in the Temple of Venus, he discovered many fine works of art, and a considerable number of inscriptions. With great liberality General Cesnola placed his copies of these inscriptions in the hands of your president, Dr. Birch, under whose directions I made copies of them for the British Museum. At the time I made these copies I compared all the texts I knew of, and made an attempt to solve the problem of the phonetic values of the Cypriote characters. In this attempt I entirely failed, as the materials then at hand did not supply me with any clue as to the nature of this system of writing.

At the same time Mr. Lang, now appointed British Consul at Larnaca, was excavating at Daly, the site of the ancient Idalium, and found, among other important treasures, a broken block of stone, with part of a Bilingual Inscription, one version being in Phœnician and the other in Cypriote. Mr. Lang has now offered his collection to the British Museum, and the antiquities are provisionally deposited there. I have thus had the opportunity of studying this important inscription, and I find in it the key so long desired to the Cypriote writing. I first made a copy of the inscription, which I did not find easy, on account of the worn state of the stone, and I afterwards compared the two versions in order to read the Cypriote from the Phœnician. The Phœnician inscription, which I understood had already been deciphered, relates the dedication of some offering in the fourth year of Melekyaton king of Kitium and Idalium. Now, Melekyaton reigned about the year B.C. 370. The Bilingual Inscription was defective of the first line of the Phœnician text, only the words "in the fourth year of the king Melekyaton" remained; but I restored the text by the aid of three other published inscriptions, and then searched in the first line of

the Cypriote version for the equivalents of the Phœnician words king, Melekyaton, Kitium, and Idalium. Now, the defective state of the Cypriote version, and the fact that the Cypriote words did not follow each other in the same order as the Phœnician, gave me some difficulty, and I made several mistakes and false starts in my endeavours to discover the clue. These I need not trouble the meeting with, but come at once to the discovery. The portion of the first line of the Cypriote which is preserved is divided by dots into five groups of signs, each of which represented a word; the first and last group evidently represented the same word, as they only differed in one character, which I considered to indicate a difference of case-ending. The two groups in question I equated with the Phœnician word *Melek*, meaning king. The second word in the Cypriote is the longest of the five, and this I supposed to be equivalent to the name Melekyaton in the Phœnician. The third and fourth words in the Cypriote both end in the same two characters, indicating that they are in the same case, which case I conjectured to be the genitive, and consequently identified them with the two words Kitium and Idalium On comparing the characters in these words, I found these conjectures to be correct, but it will be seen that the words Kitium and Idalium precede the word king in the Cypriote but follow it in the Phœnician. I now proceed to the identification of the values of the characters. The word in Cypriote which I fixed upon for the name of Melekyaton has seven characters, while the Phœnician word has only six. I, however, at once saw that the last character in the Cypriote was a very common case-ending; the other six characters then agree letter for letter with the Phœnician word, and give the values of six Cypriote signs. Passing on to the group which I identified with the name of Idalium, I noticed, of course, that the letter *l* occurs in the Phœnician as it does in the name of Melekyaton, an examination of the Cypriote group showed likewise that the character equivalent to *l* in Melekyaton is also in the name Idalium. I next found, by comparison of this group with the inscription on the Bronze

Tablet from Idalium, that the whole of the fourth group under consideration did not belong to the name of Idalium, the first character being the conjunction, the representative (although not the phonetic equivalent) of the Phœnician ו *vau;* then after separating the last two characters, which form the case-ending, there remained three essential signs for the name Idalium, these I found to be E-da-li. The vowel in Phœnician, which is represented by the י *yod*, is here absent as a distinct character, being represented by an inherent vowel in the preceding character. This confirmed me in an opinion I had long held, namely, that the Cypriote system consisted of a syllabary, each consonant having about three forms, the whole number of characters amounting to between 50 and 60. The name of Kitium commences in the Phœnician with *k*, and a *k* sound is the third character in the name of Melekyaton, but on comparing the second and third groups in the Cypriote version, I found that the same *k* was not present in both cases; this I accounted for on the supposition that the one in Melekyaton was the character representing *ka*, and the one in Kitium the representative of *ki*. The other words I had to deal with were the two forms of the word king, the first of these is evidently, both from the reading of the equivalent Phœnician and from its position in the inscription, in the genitive case; now the difference between this word in the genitive and in the nominative, as seen by comparing the first and last groups, is, that the penultimate character is altered. On reviewing the words in neighbouring languages which have the meaning king, and comparing each with the conditions of the case, I came to the conclusion that the Cypriote word for king was *basileus*, the same as the Greek, and that the penultimate characters in the two forms of this word were the vowels *o* and *u*. I thus obtained, with more or less certainty, the phonetic values of eighteen of the Cypriote characters, and I tried by means of this help to decipher the remainder of the inscription. Unfortunately the parts of the Cypriote inscription which contained the rest of the proper names were mutilated, so that I could not get much additional aid from

the other names, and I was not in a position to translate without knowing the phonetic values of more of the signs.

I then turned my attention to the coins which I knew must contain many proper names. In my study of the coins I used the work of the Duc de Luynes, already referred to, and a small but interesting pamphlet written by Mr. Lang, which had formed the substance of a communication made by that gentleman to the Numismatic Society of London. I found, on making a thorough examination of all the coins, that by comparing them with the other inscriptions I could decipher the legends, and add some characters to those I had already discovered, and in giving an account of them I shall, as nearly as possible, take them in the order in which they are given by the Duc de Luynes. We have first a series of coins having a ram on the obverse; they may be subdivided according to the device on the reverse into two sub-types, *a* and *b*, one having a ram's head the other a cross surmounted by a circle on the reverse. Type *a* having the ram's head on reverse, contain on the obverse the name, which I found to read E-u-a-go-ra, and which I at once identified with Evagoras, who ruled over a considerable part of Cyprus, and was the greatest king of the country; his reign extended from B.C. 410 to 375. On the reverse they contain the title of Evagoras, basileus, or, as in some cases only, an abbreviation of that word. Type *b* I found to contain a different name, E-u-e-l-ta-s, almost the same as the Evelthon king of Salamis mentioned by Herodotus; but I cannot ascribe these coins to that monarch, as the initial on the back, which is *A*, leads me to the opinion that they belong to the town of Amathus; the coin numbered 23 in Mr. Lang's list is an excellent specimen of this type. The type of coins represented by the Duc de Luynes on his second plate, which type has a lion and eagle on obverse, is not clear enough to be deciphered, only one character in the legend *ti* can be read. On Plate 3 he gives another type, having on the obverse a bull with a winged figure above; this type gives the name of a king, which reads Sa-da-stara. Another type is figured on Plate 4, having

Hercules on the obverse; these all bear the legend of Evagoras, and some have his initials in Greek beside. In Plate 5, the Duc de Luynes has given other types of coins. The inscription on the first I can read, with some doubt, "Basileus Teukros kas Papieus," or "Teukros king of Paphos." The second coin in this plate bears the inscription "Basileus Stasioikas," "King Stasioikos,"—a monarch bearing this name was the last king of Marium, and was conquered by Ptolemy Soter. Among the coins figured in Plate 6, there is one (No. 3) of some interest. The coin from which it is copied is in the collection of General Fox; the device on the obverse is the figure of a seated sphinx, and on it are the characters of the name Idalium. Now, in the pamphlet to which I have before referred, Mr. Lang, in page 8, has thrown out the suggestion that the coins bearing the sphinx for obverse belonged to Idalium; this conjecture now proves to be true, by the reading of this geographical name on the coin of General Fox.

I must now give some account of the inscription on the Bronze Tablet, discovered on the site of Idalium, published in the work of the Duc de Luynes. This inscription consists of 31 lines of Cypriote writing, and is the longest text known in that language.

I have tried to translate it, but I found I did not know a sufficient number of the words to make out a fair reading of it. I did, however, find in it some names and words.

On the first line are the names of the cities of Idalium and Kitium, and the name of a person called Pythagoras. The king in whose time the document was composed bears the name Stasiagoras, and rules at a place named Agotal,[1] the locality of which is unknown to me. Several former monarchs appear to be mentioned, but I cannot identify them with any Cypriote rulers known to history. Among the few words I made out on this inscription was the personal pronoun, first person singular, *anuku*, which occurs on the second line of the tablet.

[1] I now doubt if Agotal represents any locality, it is most probably either a word for city, as suggested to me by Dr. Birch, or the name of a temple.

After studying the Bronze Tablet, I turned my attention to the shorter Cypriote inscriptions in Mr. Lang's collection, and discovered on one of them the name Stasioikos, which I had already found on the coins. I now re-examined the Bilingual Inscription, and gained from it what I believe to be the name for son; it is *tāgotu:*[1] it occurs in a passage which I completed from a comparison of the Phœnician and Cypriote versions; the passage reads: "Bālram Yapti-miliki tāgotu," or "Bālram Yaptimilik's son." This word I afterwards found on three other votive inscriptions.

I must now describe the Cypriote syllabary. The number of distinct characters in the Cypriote inscriptions appears to be about 54, of these, twelve characters at least are used to represent the vowel sounds. These twelve signs do not, I think, represent distinct letters, but six of them appear to be used for the vowels *a*, *ϵ*, *η*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the other six for accented or lengthened forms of the same letters. There are about 42 signs to represent the consonants, and, at the rate of three forms for each letter, these would make about 14 consonants. Each consonant sign represents the sound of its particular consonant in connexion with a vowel following it, and these inherent vowel sounds roughly correspond to *a*, *i*, and *u*. Thus, one character has the sound of *ka*, another of *ki*, and another of *ku*. In one case, that of the letter *s*, there is a form representing the letter, without any vowel termination; this form is only used as a final letter. In the case of the letter *k*, beside the three forms already mentioned, I have provisionally given the sound of *k* to a character, the phonetic value of which I have been unable to make out; this character occurs in the word *and*, which I conjecturally read *ka*, and in the word *of*, which I read with equal doubt *kas*.

There is considerable variety in the manner of writing some of the characters, and this variation has led former investigators to suppose that the number of phonetic signs is larger than it really is.

With reference to the language of these inscriptions,

[1] Tagotu; this conjecture I now think to be erroneous.

I regret to say that there is not yet sufficient ground for pronouncing a decisive opinion. The nouns appear to have been declined in Cypriote in a similar manner to the Greek and Latin. Three examples from the Bronze Tablet I have arranged here, they are forms of the word Idalium. The first termination, which I read *ou*, appears to be the genitive singular; the second one, which I read *eis*, appears to be the genitive plural; and the third one, which I read *ei*, appears to be the dative singular. Other words are declined in a similar manner, but with such variations as show that there were at least three different declensions. Of these, the first ends in *us* in the nominative, and *os* in the genitive, an example of which is Basileus. The second merely adds *s* in the nominative, and *u* in the genitive. The third ends in *ou* in the genitive, but I have not yet detected an instance of the nominative of this declension. A consideration of these case-endings leads to the opinion that the language was allied to, although not the same as, the Greek,

A review of the proper names which I am able to read at present shows that some of them are derived from the Phœnician, while others equally show a Greek tendency. On the whole, I should say that the Greek influence was the stronger of the two. The word *anuku*, which I now believe to be a personal pronoun, first person singular, if it should be hereafter confirmed by other instances, will show a Semitic element in the language.

In conclusion, I would say I think we are all much indebted to Mr. Lang for the discovery of the Bilingual Inscription, which has formed the principal subject of my paper, and I think that inscription one of the most important, if not *the* most important, of the objects of antiquity discovered in Cyprus. And I must myself tender my thanks to your president, Dr. Birch, without whom I should have done nothing in the matter; he encouraged me to persevere when I despaired of success, and, by lending me books for comparison, did what he could to assist my researches.

PART OF THE FIRST LINE OF THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION, RESTORED FROM OTHER TEXTS.

1.

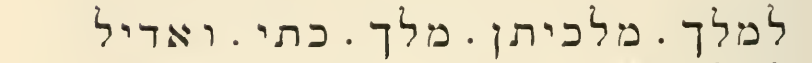
למלך . מלכיתן . מלך . כתי . ואדיל

l i d A u . i t K . k l m . n t i k l M . k l m l

Idalium & Kitium king Melekyaton king of

u-o-it-iK . s-un-at-i-ak-il-iM . s-o-el-is-ab

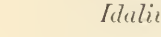
Kitium *Melekyaton* *king of*



s-u-el-is-ab . u-o-il-ad-E *

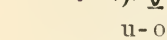
king *Idalium &*

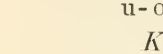
LIST OF NAMES AND WORDS READ BESIDES THESE.

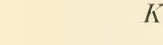
2.  E-v-a-go-ra[s], *Evagoras.*

3. Pi-tu-a-go-ra-u, *Pythagoras.*

4. Sa-ta-si-a-go-ra-s. *Stasiagoras.*

5.  Sa-ta-si-o-i-ku-u, *Stasioikos.*

6.  E-v-i-l-ta-s, *Evelthon.*

7.  A-pa-ti-mi-li-ku-u, *Abdamelek.*

8. A-nu-ku-u.

CASE-ENDINGS OF THE WORD IDALIUM EXHIBITED.

 E-da-li-o u, *Edalion.*

 E-da-li-e-i-s, *Edalieis.*

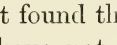
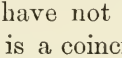
 E-da-li-e-i, *Edaliei.*

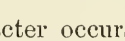
SUPPLEMENT, Nov. 13th, 1871.

I have thought it advisable, in order to give Students the opportunity of working on the Cypriote Inscriptions, to give a detailed account of the values of the characters, so far as I have made them out. A few days further consideration have altered my views on some points, which I will now indicate in the following commentary on the Cypriote characters.

1. *ba.* I have given this character the value *ba*, as it commences the word for king, which I believe to be *basileus*. I have not found this sign in any proper name, and consequently have not had an opportunity of testing its value. It is a coincidence that the similar form in cuneiform has the value *pa*.

2. *si.* This character occurs in the two proper names, Stasiagoras and Stasioikos, given above, as well as in the word *basileus*. Stasiagoras is found in line 2 of the Bronze Tablet, and Stasioikos on the coin published by the Duc de Luynes, p. 5, No. 2, and on an unpublished tablet.

3. *le.* The value of this character is shown by two passages on the Bronze Tablet, where it interchanges with , which is used for *l* in Melekyaton and Idalium. These passages on the Bronze Tablet commence in lines 9 and 22. There is a difference of case in the two instances which alters the word  to  . is also found in the name I identify with Evelthon; in this case the *l* is followed by two *t*'s. Taking example by the Lycian, I suppose this indicates that the sound of the *t* immediately follows the *l* without any intervening vowel.

4. *o.* This character occurs in Stasioikos and in the word  *o-i-k-i* (Greek *οἶκος*, a house), the meaning of which was pointed out to me by Dr. Birch; it is found in Bronze Tablet, line 6.

5. 𐠋 *s* (final). So far as I know, this character is always final, and there can be little doubt that it is *s*.

6. 𐠌 *mi*. The sound of this character is shown by the fact that it commences the word which is the equivalent of the Phœnician Melekyaton, and by its occurrence in the bilingual phrase (Greek and Cypriote) published by the Comte de Vogüé, "Journal Asiatique," June, 1868. There is much doubt about the first three Cypriote characters in this phrase, but the last word, *εμι*, in the Greek (meaning, "I am") is exactly reproduced by the Cypriote 𐠊𐠌 *emi;* this is an additional argument in favour of the Cypriote being allied to the Greek.

7. 𐠍 *li*. I have fixed on this value from the occurrence of the sign in the names Melekyaton and Idalium. The name of Idalium occurs not only on the Bilingual Inscription, but on a coin of General Fox, Duc de Luynes, p. 6, No. 3; on the Bronze Tablet four times, in lines 1, 2, 28, and 31; and on the Bronze Instrument figured, Duc de Luynes, p. 10. Idalium in the third instance on the Bronze Tablet loses its initial vowel, the name is in combination with the preceding word, and the inherent vowel of the preceding sign answers for the initial vowel in Idalium; there are other instances of this peculiarity. On the Bronze Instrument the initial 𐠊 *E*, is altered to 𐠎 *U*, probably from some law of euphony, on account of its following the vowel 𐠉 *i*.

8. 𐠏 *ka*. The *k* sound is given in the name of Melekyaton.

9. 𐠉 *i*. This sign corresponds in Melekyaton to the Phœnician 𐤉, and occurs as an evident vowel sign in other cases.

10. 𐠈 *ta*. This character is a *t* in Melekyaton and in Evelthon.

11. 𐠅 *nu*. This sign corresponds to *n* in Melekyaton.

12. 𐤊 *ki.* This character is found as a *k* sound in Kitium, which occurs not only on the Bilingual but on the Bronze Tablet, line 1, and in an inscription from a tomb near Paphos.

13. 𐤕 *ti.* Occurs in Kitium, and the proper name 𐤕𐤉𐤕𐤊𐤓𐤏𐤔 *Ti-o-ka-ro-o-s* (Teukros). This name I read conjecturally on the coin, Duc de Luynes, p. 5, No. 1, and I then read the name of his kingdom Paphos. Since that I have copied the inscriptions published by the Comte de Vogüé in the "Journal Asiatique." There, in a tomb-inscription from the vicinity of Paphos, I found the names of the same king and kingdom, which I thought at the time a confirmation of my reading of the word Paphos; but the title "King of Kitium" occurs at the same place, and I have doubts about the initial character in the supposed word Paphos. The tomb inscriptions near Paphos prove that the Cypriote characters were sometimes written from left to right; as this form is easier to read, I have adopted it in most of my present examples.

14. 𐤏 *o.* This is a vowel sound found in *basileos* as a variant of 𐤐, it is also found as the article (Greek *o*) in Genealogies, where the word son is omitted, thus:—

𐤐𐤔𐤐𐤉𐤊𐤕𐤔 . 𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤔𐤐𐤉𐤊𐤕𐤔𐤌

Pa-si-o-i-ku-s o Sa-da-si-o-i-ku-u, Pasioikos son of Stasioikos. On mentioning this to Dr. Birch, he pointed out to me the close analogy of this form to the Greek.

15. 𐤌 *u.* This character is almost always used as a final, it appears to indicate in general the genitive case.

16. 𐤒 *ka.* The value of this character is very doubtful; it expresses the conjunction, and I have therefore given it conjecturally the value *ka.* In the case of the bilingual phrase (Greek and Cypriote), the first Cypriote character which should correspond to the Greek *κα*, is 𐤐; this I suspect is an error for 𐤒. Two forms, 𐤐 𐤍, which I consider variants of the same character, may, however, be distinct signs.

17. 𐠄 *e.* The initial character in Idalium, Evagoras, and Evelthon, and the equivalent of the Greek ε in 𐠄𐠊 *εμι*, a word of which there are at least three examples in Cypriote.

18. 𐠃 *da.* This sign is *d* in Idalium. There appears to have been only a slight difference in Cypriote between *d* and *t*. 𐠃 and 𐠈 appear to interchange in some cases.

19. 𐠊 *u.* This character is *u* in Evagoras, Evelthus, Basileus, &c.

20. 𐠁 *a.* This character is taken from copies of the coins of Evagoras. I suspect it is only a bad copy of 𐠀: at any rate it represents the vowel *a*.

21. 𐠋 *go.* This sign is found in Evagoras, Stasiagoras, and Pythagoras.

22 𐠗 *ra.* Is also found in these three names.

23 𐠎 *pi.* This character, the initial sign in Pythagoras, is also found in the name I conjecturally read as Paphos 𐠁𐠎𐠄𐠊𐠏𐠓 *Pa-pi-e-u-s.*

24. 𐠏 *tu.* This sign, the second character in Pythagoras, appears in another instance to interchange with 𐠊.

25. 𐠀 *a.* The names Pythagoras, Stasiagoras, and probably Evagoras, contain this element.

26. 𐠍 *sa.* This character is the initial sign in Stasiagoras and Stasioikos.

27. 𐠀 *i.* The vowel *i* is represented by this sign in Stasioikos and oikos (see No. 4).

28. 𐠅 *ku.* This sign is *k* in Stasioikos, oikos, and Abdamelek.

29. 𐠂 *i.* This letter has the sound of *i* or *e* in Evelthon; it also occurs with a vowel sound in some case-endings of the words Kitium and Idalium.

30. *a*. This is a vowel sound, the initial character in Abdamelek.

31. *x*. This character appears in the copy of the bilingual phrase (Greek and Cypriote), with the apparent value *x*: it is doubtful.

32. Apparently a vowel; it looks like a variant of No. 42.

33. *lu*(?). Occurs on the Bronze Instrument, Duc de Luynes, p. 10, in part of a word which appears to be king.

34. A very rare character; there is no clue to its value.

35. *ta*(?). Appears to interchange with in an unpublished inscription.

36. *ki*(?) I suspect this to be a variant of No. 12.

37. Rare character; value unknown.

38. *le*(?) or *si*. Appears to be a variant of or .

39. May be another form of the last character.

40. *pa*(?) or *a*. I at first gave *pa* (in Paphos) as the value of this character; but according to a copy of one inscription it interchanges with *a*. I however suspect the character to be a mistake for , which I find to be another form of .

41. *a*. Rarely used; it represents *a* on some coins of Evagoras.

42. *a*. Rarely used; appears to be a variant of the last character.

43. *i*. Probably a variant of No. 27 .

44. *pe*. To this character I at first attached the value *m*, but I found it to interchange with in the Paphos Inscriptions.

45. Value unknown; common character.

46. Value unknown.

47.)(Value unknown.

48. Value unknown.

49. Vowel sound; interchanges with .

50. Sound unknown.

51. *o*(?). I think this is usually written , and is *o* in some case-endings.

52. One copy makes this interchange with , but I suspect an error; the character is probably a vowel sound, and in a verb which occurs several times it is once omitted and once replaced by *u*.

53. Sound unknown: probably the sign of the number *ten*.

54. *ka*(?) or *si*(?). May be a variant of or , and is in some copies of inscriptions written for .

LETTRE AU TRÈS-RÉVÉREND DOYEN DE WESTMINSTER, SUR LE SITE DE CAPHARNAUM, DE KHORAZYN, ET DE BETH-SAYDA (JULIAS).

Read 5th December, 1871.

Mon Cher et Savant Ami,

Depuis vingt ans j'ai, à deux reprises, essayé de fixer la position de ces trois localités Bibliques ; la première fois, c'était dans mon voyage autour de la mer Morte ; la seconde, dans un mémoire spécial publié par la "Revue Archéologique française." Les arguments péremptoires que j'avais réunis, ne me paraissant pas avoir été pris en considératiod suffisante, je reviens une troisiéme fois à la charge, comme si je m'acquittais d'un devoir respectueux envers ce que je crois la vérité. Je suis d'ailleurs poussé à le faire par la lecture du beau mémoire de M. le capitaine Wilson, sur la mer de Galilée. Ce mémoire est inséré dans le précieux livre intitulé : "Recovery of Jerusalem," livre dont la publication toute récente est une véritable bonne fortune pour tous les amis de l'archéologie Biblique.

Enfin nous possédons, grâce à ce livre, une bonne carte du lac de Génézareth et des pays environnants. (1) Honneur donc à M. Anderson pour son excellent travail topographique, qui va nous mettre à même de discuter la question qui nous préoccupe, comme si nous étions sur le terrain.

La mer de Galilée, lac de Génézareth ou de Tibériade, a porté d'abord le nom de mer de Kenrouth ou de Kennereth, et sans aucun doute, elle avait reçu ce nom d'une place importante qui se trouvait à proximité immédiate. Ce nom, nous le lisons déjà parmi ceux des villes de Palestine, soumises par le Pharaon Tonthmès III. De plus, l'écriture sainte mentionne Kennereth comme une ville de la tribu de Nephtali. Du nom Kennereth est certainement venu le nom

(1) Malheusement cette carte si exacte n'est pas suffisamment bien imprimée ; les noms de lieu y sont difficilement lisibles, parce qu'ils sont mal venus, et écrits en caractères véritablement microscopiques.

"Génézareth," de la délicieuse petite plaine si bien décrite par Josephe, le Rhoneyr de nos jours. La ville qui a légué son nom à la plaine en question et au lac voisin, devait en bonne logique être à bien grande proximité de cette plaine et de ce lac. C'est là une conclusion qu'il n'est guère possible d'éluder ; il nous faudra donc retrouver le site de Kennereth, et cela fait, nous aurons un point certain du territoire de Nephtali.

Tibériade, aujourd'hui Thabarieh, appartenait au territoire de Zabulon : le fait est hors de doute. Dès lors la limite des territoires de Zabulon et de Nephtali passait entre Tibériade et le point le plus éloigné, au nord, de la plaine de Kennereth ou de Génézareth. C'est encore là un point si logiquement établi, qu'il n'y a pas possibilité de l'éluder.

Julias, la capitale de la tétrarchie de Philippe, le fils d'Hérode, était sur la rive *droite* du Jourdain. Josephe par les détails de ses récits le prouve, et Ptolémée en fait autant, puisqu'il mentionne Julias parmi les villes principales de la *Galilée.* Ce fut le village Biblique de Beth-Sayda qui devint la capitale Julias : nouveau point hors de doute. Donc les ruines d'et-Tell n'ont rien de commun avec Beth-Sayda-Julias, puisque ces ruines informes sont fort loin du lac et sur la rive orientale du Jourdain. Cela, soit dit entre parenthèses, exclue la possibilité d'attribuer le nom de Beth-Sayda, "maison de la pêche," à la localité antique que représentent les ruines d'et-Tell. Une ville comme Julias, devenue la capitale d'un prince puissant, qui voulut y être enterré dans le sépulcre qu'il s'y était fait construire à grands frais, n'a pu disparaître, sans laisser de traces. Il faut donc encore la retrouver et nous *devons* la retrouver. Il n'en peut être autrement d'une ville pour ainsi dire *Romanisée* par un souverain dont les monnaies portent l'effigie de l'Empereur, son suzerain avoué. Mais Philippe était Juif; ses sujets étaient Juifs : la présence d'une synagogue somptueuse dans sa capitale était donc, pour ainsi dire, d'absolue nécessité. Nouveau point que je ne crains pas de voir révoquer en doute.

Julias pouvait-elle être sur le bord du Jourdain ? A cette question, la réponse—*Non*, est forcée. En effet, Josephe dans le récit du combat où il fut blessé, avant d'être transporté à

Capharnaum, dit nettement qu'il avait posté ses troupes en avant de Julias, et que c'est dans le terrain marécageux qui couvrait cette ville à l'est, que son cheval s'abattit, ce qui valut à lui, Josephe, une douloureuse luxation du poignet. Cette chûte fatale fut le signal de la débandade des soldats de Josephe, qui prirent aussitôt la fuite, laissant très-probablement Julias à découvert et à la discrétion du vainqueur. Dès lors Josephe ne pouvait s'arrêter à Julias; autant eût valu, en effet, se rendre immédiatement et se laisser faire prisonnier sur place. Tout cela évidemment n'a pu se passer de l'autre côté d'une rivière comme le Jourdain. Donc Julias était entre le Jourdain et Capharnaum. Encore une conséquence irréfutable. Par suite il nous faudra retrouver les restes d'une ville somptueuse, *Romanisée*, je répéte ce mot à dessein, entre le Jourdain et Capharnaum, quel que soit le site de cette dernière localité.

Capharnaum était sur le bord de la mer, et à la limite des territoires de Zabulon et de Nephtali; c'est l'Évangile de St. Matthieu qui nous le dit (iv, 13). Il n'y a pas moyen d'équivoquer sur l'expression dont l'écrivain sacré se sert. S'il eût voulu dire autre chose que "sur la limite des deux territoires," il eût, sous peine d'écrire un non-sens, dit que Capharnaum était ou dans Zabulon, ou dans Nephtali. Parler des deux territoires à la fois, s'il ne s'agissait pas strictement de la ligne frontière des deux territoires, c'était démontrer qu'il n'était pas en mesure de distinguer l'un des deux territoires de l'autre.

La conclusion de M. le capitaine Wilson sur le sens du mot *τὰ ὅρια*, ainsi formulée: "The word used for border, does not mean the line of division between the two tribes, but rather the district occupied by them," &c., peut être parfaitement juste, sans infirmer en rien le raisonnement qui place forcément Capharnaum entre Tibériade et Kennereth. D'ailleurs le district occupé par la limite des deux territoires ne saurait être qu'une étroite bande de terrain, sur laquelle se trouvait Capharnaum. Encore une conclusion qu'il sera impossible d'éluder.

Khorazyn (*ΧΩΡΑΖΙΝ* par un *χ* et non par un *κ*) était à deux milles de Capharnaum; c'est St. Jérôme qui le dit; de

plus St. Jérôme, et avant lui Eusèbe, déclarent expressément que Capharnaum, Beth-Sayda, et Khorazyn étaient sur les bords du lac de Génézareth. Assurément cela ne veut pas dire que ces trois localités étaient immédiatement au bord de l'eau. Mais Kerazeh, qui est à deux bons milles du lac et *sur la montagne*, se trouve dès lors bien difficilement identifiable avec Khorazyn, malgré la ressemblance des deux noms, ressemblance qui toutefois devient moins grande quand l'on considère que l'un des deux noms commence par l'aspirée forte χ, et l'autre par la gutturale douce *kef*. Enfin Khorazyn était, au dire de St. Jérôme, un petit village, et les ruines de Kerazeh représentent une véritable ville, d'une importance manifeste.

Le Tétrarque Philippe voulut être enterré à Julias, et il s'y fit construire un somptueux tombeau. A l'extrémité nord des ruines de Tell-houm, le mémoire de M. le capitaine Wilson signale deux tombeaux remarquables; l'un construit en blocs de pierre calcaire, au-dessous de la surface du sol, ce qui dut occasioner, dit-il, un très-grand travail, vu qu'il a fallu d'abord excaver la masse de basalte qui forme ce sol, et ensuite apporter de loin des blocs de calcaire; l'autre consistant en une construction rectangulaire établie au-dessus du sol, et capable de contenir un grand nombre de corps: sépulcre de famille évidemment. Pour moi, le premier est le tombeau de Tétrarque Philippe: le second, celui des membres de sa famille.

Joseph parle de la fontaine qu'il nomme Capharnaum, sans en préciser mathématiquement la position; mais, à coup sûr, s'il eût voulu désigner l'ayn-et-Thabrhah il n'eût pas manqué de dire que la fontaine remarquable qui contribuait à l'irrigation de la plaine de Génézareth (sans doute concurremment avec les trois cours d'eau qui coupent cette jolie plaine, et qui existaient alors, comme à présent) était à plus d'un mille de distance de la pointe extrême de cette plaine, et qu'il en avait fallu en amener l'eau à l'aide de travaux hydrauliques considérables. Il n'en dit pas un mot; et, de son récit, il résulte qu'il n'est guère possible d'admettre que la fontaine de Capharnaum ait été en dehors de la plaine de Génézareth. En revanche, il parle des *Coracinus* qui vivent

en abondance dans l'eau de cette fontaine. M. Tristram, que j'a eu l'honneur et le plaisir de rencontrer en Terre-Sainte, a pris bon nombre de *Coracinus* dans l'ayn-el-Medaouarah ; mais il n'en a pas *vu un seul* dans l'ayn-et-Thabrhah. Aussi son opinion n'est-elle pas douteuse, et pour lui l'ayn-el-Medaouarah est certainement la fontaine de Capharnaum mentionnée par Josephe. Pour moi aussi, je le déclare sans hésiter.

Kafar (كفر kefr) signifie *village* (en arabe, comme en hébreu). Le nom Capharnaum appliqué à une *fontaine*, eût donc été parfaitement ridicule sous la plume de Josephe, qui apparemment savait sa langue maternelle, si pour lui la fontaine en question n'eût reçu son nom du village auquel elle appartenait et attenait.

Je trouve dans le mémoire d'ailleurs si plein d'intérêt, de M. le capitaine Wilson, une note dont je ne puis admettre la teneur, quelque bonne volonté que j'y mette. La voici : "A deserted site or mound marking ruins, is generally called 'Tel,' whilst the Arabs apply the term 'Kefr' to an inhabited village. It also often happens that the final syllable in old names is alone preserved, as, for example, Achzib becomes Zib, Kefr or Caphar-na-hum would by a change of this kind naturally become Tel-hum."

Philologiquement tout cela est inadmissible. D'abord "Tell" signifie un propre *colline, hauteur*, comme "Redjom" signifie amas de pierres ou de terres, et "Qoum," une *petite élévation qui se dresse.* Une *ruine* se dit "Kharbeh" ; un *village* se nomme "Kefr" (en arabe, comme en hébreu, je le répète). Cela posé, Caphar-naum veut dire *village de Nahoum*, et *Nahoum* est un nom propre d'homme qu'il n'est pas possible de couper en Na-hum ; il n'est pas non plus possible d'admettre que "Kefr" soit devenu "Tell" dans la bouche des Arabes, pour lesquels les noms de lieu sont généralement significatifs, et ne peuvent guère s'altérer. D'ailleurs Zib, cité pour exemple, n'est pas en réalité le nom actuel d'Akhzib, Ecdippa ; c'est Ez-zib, altération volontaire (effectuée peut-être pour faire un jeu de mot ordurier, assez dans le goût arabe) de Ekhzib, identique avec le nom primitif.

Tout cela posé, procédons par ordre et quittons le bord occidental du Jourdain, en nous dirigeant sur Thabarieh.

A l'embouchure du fleuve sacré dans le lac, le bord occidental est garni de quelques petits tertres et amas de pierres appelée par les Arabes "Abou-zané." C'est pour M. le Dr. Thomson, avec lequel M. le capitaine Wilson semble d'accord, la *Beth-Sayda* de *Galilée*. Sur la rive orientale, non loin du bord de la rivière, et dans un terrain planté de palmiers, sont les traces d'un ancien village, des fondations de vieilles murailles au milieu desquelles se voient quelques tombes arabes, et des fragments de colonnes basaltiques. Le même auteur, dit M. Wilson, place là, avec grande probabilité, la Beth-Sayda-Julias, où Philippe le tétrarque fût enterré.

Cela est impossible. Julias était en Galilée, dit Ptolémée. C'est entre Julias et le Jourdain qu'a dû se passer le combat où Josephe fut blessé ; enfin Julias était une grande ville, une capitale. Dès lors, qu'a de commun le misérable hameau ruiné de la rive orientale, avec la ville Romanisée, qui nommée d'abord Beth-Sayda, est devenue, sous le nom de Julias, la résidence de prédilection du Tétrarque Philippe, et le lieu où il se fit construire un somptueux tombeau? Rien, absolument rien!

De la prétention de mettre Beth-Sayda-Julias sur la rive orientale du Jourdain, par suite de l'explication d'un texte Evangélique, est née la nécessité de supposer l'existence de deux Beth-Sayda distinctes, l'une à droite, l'autre à gauche du fleuve sacré. Inutile d'insister sur ce qu'a d'invraisemblable la présence de deux localités du même nom, quoique différentes, à si faible distance l'une de l'autre? Dans tous les cas, s'il y avait eu deux Beth-Sayda, Ptolémée nous prouve que Julias doit être identifiée avec celle de la rive Galiléenne.

A deux milles environ du cours du Jourdain on rencontre Tell-houm, sur la plage. C'est là, je n'en doute pas, Beth-Sayda-Julias, avec ses ruines somptueuses, avec le tombeau de Philippe, avec celui de ses proches, avec sa synagogue indispensable, et magnifiquement construite. Supposer qu'un simple centurion romain aurait fait construire ce magnifique édifice, ce serait supposer qu'il était bien riche pour un officier de rang si modeste.

Kerazeh est réellement à deux milles de Tell-houm, et si Tell-houm était Capharnaum, Kerazeh, à l'orthographe près

de son nom, pourrait être Khorazyn ; mais Khorazyn était au bord du lac, disent Eusèbe et St. Jérôme, et Kerazeh est dans la montagne à deux milles du lac. Donc Kerazeh, la ville étendue et somptueuse, ne peut être Khorazyn, le petit village du bord du lac, village dont toute l'illustration est dûe à la mention qui en est faite dans les Saints Evangiles. Qui sait si Kerazeh n'était pas le refuge des riches habitants de Julias, contre les terribles chaleurs de l'été.

A un mille et demi de Tell-houm on rencontre l'ayn-et-Thabrhah, qui alimentait plusieurs moulins, dont un seul est encore en état de fonctionner. Il faut marcher, en chemin assez difficile, pendant plus d'un mille de plus, pour arriver après avoir franchi quelque peu péniblement le promontoire qui s'avance jusqu'au lac, au-dessus du Khan-Minieh, pour arriver, dis-je, à la pointe nord de la plaine de Génézareth. Que l'ayn-et-Thabrhah ait concouru à l'irrigation de cette partie de la plaine, cela n'est plus douteux ; mais à partir du Nahr-el-âamoud, qui alimentait des moulins contemporains de ceux de l'ayn-et-Thabrhah, et qui, par conséquent n'était jamais à sec, cela ne me paraît plus probable. D'ailleurs l'aqueduc nécessaire cesse bientôt de paraître, tandis que, suivant le témoignage du capitaine Wilson, les aqueducs et canaux d'irrigation dérivés du Nahr-el-âamoud, puis du Nahr-Rabadieh, et du Nahr-el-âmmam, sont parfaitement visibles.

En continuant son chemin, après avoir traversé à gué le Nahr-el-âamoud, ce qui n'est pas toujours sans danger, je le sais par expérience, on arrive à un village ruiné placé sur une petite hauteur, et où les traces d'une place antique, commandant au nord la plaine de Génézareth, ne manquent pas : c'est Abou-Choucheh. Pour moi, Abou-Choucheh c'est forcément Kennereth que l'on chercherait vainement ailleurs sur le pourtour de la plaine de Kennereth, et qui pourtant *doit* s'y rencontrer.

On traverse ensuite le Nahr-Rabadieh et l'on arrive en suivant les dernières pentes de la montagne dominante, à l'ayn-el-Medaouarah d'un niveau plus élevé que la plaine, avec ses Coracinus frétillants, et qui n'est que le Capharnaum de Josephe. Le village de ce nom devait donc être là, et effectivement le sol est jonché de débris et de pierrailles, seuls

indices de tant d'autres villes disparues et jadis illustres de la Terre-Sainte. Il y a quelques années le curé latin de Naplouse a reconnu vers ce point les ruines de l'église bâtie sur la maison de St. Pierre. J'avoue que j'ai vainement recherché ces ruines du regard, mais en suivant tout droit mon chemin. M. Victor Guerin, qui vient d'explorer à fond toute cette contrée, nous en dira probablement quelque chose, avant qu'il soit longtemps.

Si Capharnaum était là, Khorazyn, qui en était éloigné de deux milles, suivant le témoignage de St. Jérôme, doit être identifié avec les ruines existant autour du Khan Minieh, et de l'ayn-et-Tyn.

Remarquons que dans le cas où les identifications que je viens de proposer sont admises, la limite des territoires de Zabulon et de Nephtali se trouve parfaitement déterminée en ce point : c'est le Thalweg de l'ouad-Rabadieh. Dès lors, Capharnaum, Khorazyn, et Beth-Sayda-Julias sont parfaitement à leur place, suivant l'écriture sainte.

On passe ensuite devant el-Medjdel, la Magdala de l'Evangile, que l'on ne saurait identifier avec Kennereth, qui défendait le territoire de Nephtali, comme el-Medjdel défendait l'entrée du territoire de Zabulon. A moins de deux milles plus loin, on passe devant l'ayn-el-Barideh, et à l'embouchure du ravin au sommet duquel se trouvent les roches bien connues des Arabes sous le nom de Hhedjar-el-Khams-Khobzat, " les pierres des cinq pains," roches regardées par les Musulmans eux-mêmes comme le théâtre d'un miracle d'Ayssa-Ibn-Maryam, le miracle de la multiplication des pains. Encore un mille de marche et l'on atteint Thabarieh, la ville fondée par Hérode-Antipas.

J'ai fini, mon cher ami, et je livre ces réflexions à votre jugement comme à celui de tous les lecteurs sérieux de la Bible. Mille amitiés de cœur.

F. De Saulcy.

Chiselhurst, le 10 *Juillet*, 1871.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE READING OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BRONZE PLATE OF DALI [IDALIUM].

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., &c.

Read 2nd January, 1872.

FOR a long time the discovery of inscriptions in the Island of Cyprus, written in a character neither Greek nor Phœnician, has attracted considerable attention. The attempts to discover the value of the characters and decipher the words had hitherto been unsuccessful, owing to the want of a bilingual inscription of sufficient length, and as no right step had been taken in this direction, the interpretation of the words or discovery of the language to which they belonged remained a hopeless task. Two inquirers, indeed, essayed to decipher the inscriptions; the first, the late Duc de Luynes, distinguished alike for excellent and profound knowledge of Greek archæology, and the princely munificence with which he aided the study and its followers. The Duc de Luynes contributed, in 1852, a valuable work to the subject, entitled Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes, in which he collected and engraved examples of all known

coins and inscriptions. Professor Röth of Heidelberg subsequently published a translation of the longest known inscription, that of the bronze plate found at Dali, under the title of die Proklamation des Amasis, or a proclamation of the Egyptian king Amasis to the Cyprians, in 1855, under the auspices and at the expense of the Duc de Luynes. Later the Count de Vogüé[1] and M. Pierides have published different inscriptions—one bilingual, but unfortunately limited to two words in Greek and Cypriote, and these not well preserved, so that its value was less than expected, although it enables the reading of one of the Cypriote words. Other inscriptions, copied but not published, have been discovered by General Cesnola, United States Consul at Larnaca; still the collection of Cypriote is far from extensive.[2] The attempts of the Duc de Luynes failed from the radical error that he mistook the Cypriote word for '*king*' for that of '*Salamis*,' and based all his other readings upon that hypothesis. Professor Röth, who extended his researches on the same hypothesis, erred to a still greater extent; and he added a second fatal hypothesis, that the Cypriote language belonged to the Semitic not the Aryan family. The first step in the right direction was the discovery by Mr. R. Hamilton Lang, Her Majesty's Consul at Larnaca, of a bilingual Phœnician and Cypriote inscription at Dali, the ancient Idalium. This inscription consists of the greater part of three Phœnician and four Cypriote lines of writing. Mr. Lang discovered also several other Phœnician and other inscriptions, but this bilingual text has proved the key to the Cypriote alphabet. Mr. Lang, who paid particular attention to this inscription, and who possesses an intimate knowledge of the coins of Cyprus, discovered the word representing the word '*king*' in the inscription and on the coins. The inscrip-

[1] Another author is Helfferick A., Die Phœnizisch-Cyprisch Forschung, 8vo, Frankfurt A. M., 1869. He makes the Dali Inscription a Psalm of the Colony of Idalium, and translates it as Semitic, p. 48. Mr. Deutsch called my attention to this work.

[2] Copies of some of the Inscriptions published by the Duc de Luynes were also re-copied later by Lieutenant Leycester, and published in the Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 8vo. Lond. 1863, pp. 376–378. Von Hammer, Topogr. Ansicht. Wien 1811, p. 190. Note 69, by Mr. Hogg.

tion was set up in the fourth year of the reign of Melekiatun king of Citium and Idalium, and records the dedication or vow of Baalram son of Abdamelech to a deity named Reseph, or Resmical, that he may listen to his vow. The epoch of this inscription is supposed to be about B.C. 370, and is important both for Phœnician and Cypriote palæography. The two versions, which will subsequently be given, show the different reading. Simultaneously, but independently, Mr. George Smith, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, discovered the word representing the word 'king,' and 40 of the 51 or 54 characters of which the Cypriote alphabet or syllabarium is composed. I will here give the transliteration and interlinear translation, as far as possible, of the Cypriote portion of the bilingual inscription.

PHŒNICIAN.

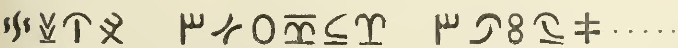
מ[לכיתן	למלך	IIII ארבע	בשנת
melekitun	lemelek	araba	beshanat
Melekiatun	*of the king*	*four*	*In the year*

אז	סמל	בעלרם	ואדיל]	כתי	מלך
az	semel	Baalram	va-Adil	Kiti	melek
then	*an image*	*Baalram*	*and of Idalium*	*of Citium*	*king*

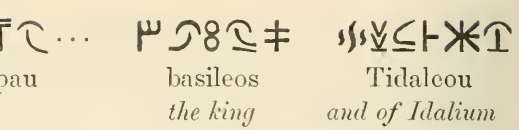
....	בעלרם	אדנן	ויטנא	אשיתן
	Baalram	adunun	va-jitan	ashitan
	Baalram	*our lord*	*and dedicated*	*gave*

יברך.	קל	כשמא	מכל	לרשפ
jabrek	qol	ki-shema	mical	le reseph
of thy prayer	*the voice*	*that he may hear*	*Mical*	*to Reseph*

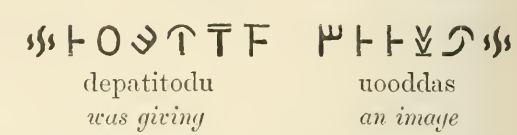
CYPRIOTE.



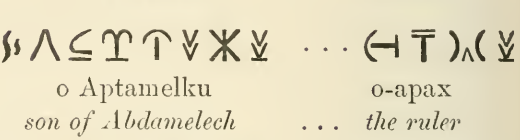
Kitiou	Melekithonos	basileos
of Citium	*Melekithon*	*of the king*



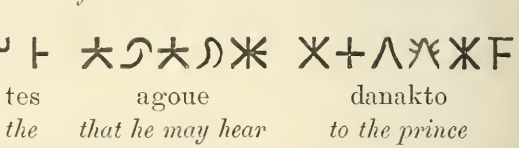
desbaru epau basileos Tidaleou
fourth *the king* *and of Idalium*



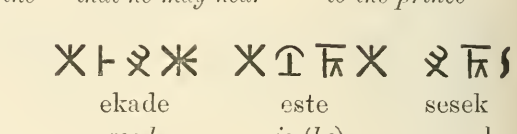
dekadekastes depatitodu uooddas
a tenth *was giving* *an image*



dagathon o Aptamelku o-apax
to Ekatos *son of Abdamelech* ... *the ruler*



eukes tes agoue danakto
vow *the* *that he may hear* *to the prince*

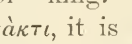
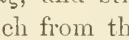


ekade este sesek
good *is* (*bé*) ....[1]

It will readily be seen from a comparison of the two languages in this bilingual inscription, that not only do they belong to different families, but that the Cypriote must be a form of the Greek, for the first line transcribed into Greek characters is good Greek, the only question being whether the initial 𐠣 of Idalium is a κ or τ. From other inscriptions it would appear to have the value of τ, and it thus becomes the enclitic τ' of the Greek. The Cypriote, it appears, did not use the Greek word καὶ for 'and,' indeed, according to the small list of Cypriote words known, the form was κὰς, but it does not occur or has not been recognised in any published Cypriote text. The beginning of the first line is

[1] Since this paper was read, M. Halévy has read before the Athenée Orientale of Paris, 14th March, 1872, his views on the Cypriote. He gives the restored translation of the Phœnician as,—"In the month ..... the 4th year of Melkiathon king of Citium and Idalium was completed this ..... which Baalrahom our lord son of ..... has given to the god Reseph Makul. Hearing the voice of the founder may the god bless him."—*Le Temps* 11e Avril, 1872.

wanting, and, unfortunately, so may the Cypriote words for 'year' and 'four,' which might have aided to prove the Greek character of the Cypriote, and the name Baalram; and the next line begins with a Cypriote word 𐠀𐠊𐠄 ending *apu*, perhaps part of and not a complete word, and only remarkable for its being followed by a word with a similar ending, showing that it is a noun followed by an adjective, both apparently in a case which I regard as the dative. The following word 𐠀𐠊𐠄𐠎𐠎𐠆𐠄 *tesbaru*, may be compared with the Greek *τεσσαρα*, "fourth." It would seem that this portion, which might mean in the 'fourth year,' is in connection with the following word 𐠀𐠊𐠄𐠎𐠎𐠆𐠄 *uodedos*—the value of the third character of which is uncertain, but the ending of which is that of a Greek noun in the genitive. It is probably a 'form' or image. The word following 𐠀𐠊𐠄𐠎𐠎𐠆𐠄 *tepatudatu*, is apparently the verb *τ'ἔπεδιδοτο*, 'and was given;' the next word 𐠀𐠊𐠄𐠎𐠎𐠆𐠄 *dekatekastes*, is common in many inscriptions, and is compounded of two words, *deka*, found elsewhere as 'ten,' and *tekastes*, a figure or offering. The form occurs in an inscription sent by Mr. Lang to the British Museum, reading *Tikaioduetas opasiokos ostasiokou tekastes euke esti*, "Dikaiodotos, Pasioikos son of Stasioikos—the figure—it is a vow!" The next word 𐠀𐠊𐠄𐠎𐠎𐠆𐠄 *oapax* or *opapax*, also occurs in an inscription published by De Vogüé, at the commencement. This word, it will be observed, there reads *oapax Stasios Stasiogos*, but the inscription is broken and it is consequently not possible to decide its value in that place. The word which was its equivalent in the bilingual has disappeared, or must have followed the Phœnician סמל *semel*. It may consist of the masculine article *ὁ* and *απαξ*, a Cypriote form of *ἀπαξιος* 'the unworthy, the humble,' a kind of Semitic phraseology, as the humble Baalram, the humble Stasios; or else *oapax*, the ruler, prince, the archon; but its meaning must be considered at present uncertain. After this word there follows a considerable hiatus in both inscriptions, and the beginning of the next line gives the Cypriote word o Aptamelikou, 'son of Abdamelech,' as the name of the father of Baalram, already explained by Mr. Smith. The

two next Cypriote words read *dagatho, dapakti*, or *danakti*, for the second letter of the second word is uncertain. In these words are two cases in the dative, and they appear to correspond to the Phœnician *le Reseph Mical*, "to Reseph Mical," which is not represented in its form in the Cypriote, but translated or paraphrased by a Cypriote expression. The first word occurs in another Cypriote inscription of General Cesnola in the genitive, as *Egates*, apparently the Cypriote form of the goddess *Ἑκατη*—Hecate—the goddess, and probably corresponding to the Phœnician Reseph. The second word *danakti* would be the Greek *τῷ ἄνακτι*, the prince or ruler—the word *anax* being the Homeric and Cypriote form for 'king.' If the form, however, is *τῷ ἄπακτι* or *τῷ παπὰκτι*, it is apparently the declined form of *ὁ ἀπαξ* or *ὁ παπὰξ*, and still the second part of the name Reseph Mical, which from this and other Phœnician inscriptions, is the name of one deity, the equivalent of the Greek *Hecatos*. From this portion, however, of the inscription, we arrive at a small group of words, the signification of which is more certain, as the Phœnician and Cypriote here correspond; the first is the word *agoue*, the Greek *ἄκουῆ*, 'may he hear;' it is followed by *des*, the Greek *τῆς* 'of a,' and  *eukes*, the Greek *εὔχης* or *εὔχας* 'vow'—that he may hear the vow. The Phœnician has that "he" or "she," Reseph Mical, may hear the voice of thy prayer. The fourth or last line commences with a mutilated word,  *seske*, but finishes with two Cypriote words which often recur in other texts, especially at the ending, and which read *este akate*, in which are to be recognised the Greek *ἔστι* or *ἔστω ἄγαθη*, 'it is good!' found in one of General Cesnola's inscriptions as . In an inscription already cited before, the close is *euke este*, 'it is the vow.' The Cypriote version, therefore, as far as it can be read, is as follows:—". . . . . of the King Melekithon, of Citium and Idalium the king . . . . . of the . . . . gave a tenth offering figure [. . . . Baalram] the son of Abdamelech to Ekatos the king that he may hear the vow . . . . it is good!"

Before proceeding to discuss the inscription on the bronze

plate from Idalium, published by the Duc de Luynes, it is necessary to give the reasons for believing the Cypriote to be Greek. In examining the inscription, the following peculiarities point it out not to be a Semitic but an Aryan language, the absence of words beginning with any of the usual Semitic prefixes ב, ל, מ and ה, or finals ן, ם, which must have occurred in texts of any length. Nor can the language be of the cognate Assyrian families, such as the Chaldean or Assyrian, as it does not exhibit the grammatical forms of the Chaldee, and 𐤔 *s* prefix for the genitive of the Assyrian, which must have occurred, is altogether wanting. That it does not belong to the Egyptian or Hamitic family is equally proved, as it has none of the peculiarities of that language neither the π (*p*) for the masculine article, or the μ (*m*) or ν (*n*) for the possessive or instrumental. On the other hand many words end in *s*, a very common final letter in Greek—seven, for example, in the bilingual alone—and a very large proportion commence with *t* or *d*, the initial of many forms of the Greek article. In Cypriote, it will be remembered, each word is separated by a dot or line from another, but the article is always written with the word to which it belongs when it was either a vowel or terminated in a vowel. Thus the ordinary Greek article ὁ 𐤀 in Cypriote, and the τὰ, τὸ, τοῦ, or τῷ, 𐤀𐤅 in Cypriote are always united to the word to which they belong, and not separated by a stop from it. When the article ended in a consonant, as 𐤔𐤄, 𐤔𐤈 *tes* or *des*, τῆς, τοὺς, τοῖς, it was separated from the noun or adjective and considered an integral word.

The same rule applies to enclitics, which are also affixed and involved in the same word; thus, Idalium in the bilingual has attached to it the character for *t* and 𐤈 either κ or τ, apparently the latter, as it occurs in the monosyllable *tes* before the word 𐤔𐤊𐤅 *dis*, for θέας, and 𐤔𐤋 *gos*, for γῆς,—respectively meaning 'goddess' and 'land.' These enclitics are thus involved, and it is an important fact to be remembered in the interpretation of the Cypriote. But although the general structure of the language, and many if not most of the words are Hellenic, there is, no doubt, a foreign element extensively mixed with it, either a Pelasgic

dialect, or else that of an aboriginal population, to which must be added words that may have been introduced by Phœnician settlers or foreign conquerors. The bilingual inscription of Idalium commences, it will be observed, with Phœnician, as though the dominant language of the country at that time; and it must be remembered that there is no other representative of the older Hellenic races in Cyprus than the Cypriote language; the pure Greek appears to have commenced with Evagoras, of whom there are coins in both languages; and the first use of this purer Greek was probably due to that monarch, whom Isagoras applauds for having brought back the inhabitants of Cyprus from barbarism to Greek culture. The bilingual inscription of Karux merely repeats the same words in Cypriote and Greek characters; and Evagoras in all probability only introduced the Hellenic alphabet for the Cypriote, and used a purer Greek for official purposes. The little vocabulary of Cypriote words compiled by Engel,[1] only offers a kind of provincial or barbaric Greek, scarcely more removed from the pure language than the already well-known dialects of that tongue.

The first attempt to decipher the bronze plate of Idalium is that of M. Röth,[2] who supposed it was a proclamation of Amasis II to the Cyprians, drawn up in a Semitic language. As his reasons were founded on the erroneous reading of a word supposed to be Salamis, and the wrong values consequently attached to the whole of the Cyprian alphabet, the whole translation is valueless, but his copy of the inscription is good and useful to the student, as, on the whole, it is very correct.[3] The purport of the Idalium plate appears to be as follows:—In the 48th year of the era of Citium, in the eponymy of Pythagoras, Stesagoras the king of the city of Idalium the statue of Demochares was made in the house of the king in the Acropolis, by a monarch named Euisidosses,

[1] Kypros, Vol. ii.

[2] The work of Röth was published at the expense of the Duc de Luynes, and cost about £800.

The attempt of Helfferich, in 1869, is already mentioned in a former note.

[3] The Duc de Luynes rightly conjectured the value of the to be Σ, as it subsequently proved.

also a monarch of the same place. This amounted to 100 alara; a tenth of these were given by the king to the temple and shrine of the goddess; this gift was made a kind of annual revenue to the temple. It appears also that Isidostes, also king of the same city, had given a sum of 100 alara to the statue of Teucer, the damastes or original founder of the city, and 10 alara to the portico of Teucer, and a certain quantity of land for the keeping in order the floor, the roof, and the image of the goddess, besides certain other things ordered to be charged upon the land; and mention is made of the revenues of the 12th and 13th years, besides the amount of the whole year, and apparently of certain other endowments of the goddess Isis, who appears to have had also a shrine in the temple of Idalium. The object of the inscription was thus to record the dotation made by the former and present monarchs.

Of the two monarchs mentioned in this inscription, one, Pythagoras, is already known from the Greek authors; he was the cousin of Evagoras II, and was an opponent of his cousin in B.C. 351, having apparently ruled for a long time, and was at all events in power in B.C. 353.[1] The bronze plate shows that that Pythagoras was ruler of the Acropolis or city of Idalium, and that he was succeeded by Euisidosses. The persons mentioned in the inscription are Pythagoras—not in the first place as a monarch, but as an eponymous or other officer; then Stesagoras or Stasiagoras, king of the city of Idalium, not otherwise found; Deinopasagoras,[2] a private individual, holding some office of the goddess Aphrodite; Euisidostes king of the city, but not stated to be of Idalium; Teucer, called in one place the *damastes*, 'subduer, ruler,' the founder of the Hellenic settlement and monarchy. This celebrated hero of the Trojan war had probably been deemed the founder of a part of the original temple at Idalium, at all events the stoa or portico bore his name. One town, Idalium, is only mentioned, and the name of none other can be identified. The name of the goddess Aphrodite is not found in the inscription, which is the more remarkable that

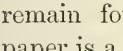
[1] Engel, Kypros, I, 325-46-8.

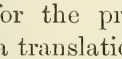
[2] If indeed it is not *don-Pasagoru* or "Pasagoras" only.

those of other Hellenic deities occur in other Cypriote monuments. Thus Mr. Smith has found Hephaistos in an unpublished inscription of General Cesnola, and I have recognised Hecate in another. Aphrodite is not met with in any inscription, and on the bronze plate she is simply spoken of as *tes deas*, the goddess, or the invincible goddess, *tes theas adamastes*. Some other expressions follow the name of the goddess in the inscription, but it is doubtful if they are titles or the names of the deity. One, *tesiku*, apparently is the expression *te sekoi*, 'and to the shrine,' to which the donations were made. As the inscription is one of an official nature, there is a great repetition of the same words and even sentences; so that the power of verifying or contrasting a word is not very great, and few unfortunately recur in other inscriptions which refer to other subjects. Amongst the most ordinary words are *bas*, *batos*, *bati*, *basi*, which is apparently the form of the Cypriote word *πᾶς*, *pas*, or "all" declined without the *ν*, *n*, as is usual in Greek; the words *ede*, or *etio*, *edos*, or *etous*, and *edesi*, or *etesi*, 'for year,' final on three forms; *basileus*, and *basileos*, which occur in two; *des*, or *deas* or *theas*, 'of the goddess,' in two variants. The word *stoa*, 'porch' or 'portico,' which occurs only in one instance; as also the word *gos* or *ges*, 'of the land,' found in one form only. The noun *alara*, apparently for the Greek *μνᾶ* or *mina*, also found as *t aluru*. in the genitive or dative with the articles affixed. The words *deka*, 'ten,' *ao - deka*, 'twelve.' and *tre - deka*, 'thirteen.' The articles *ὁ*, *o*, *ὁυ*, *ou*, *τὸ*, *di*, or *τοῦ*, and *τῷ*, *τῆς*, *tes*, *τὸν*, *ton*, or *dom*, the form *τεγοῦ*, *tegu*, 'of the roof,' also *δωρὸν*, *doron*, 'the gift;' *ἴκελου*, *ikelu* 'of what is the same.' The forms of the verbs are much more difficult to identify, but amongst them are *ἔδωκε*, *edoke*, 'gave.' *ἐκβῆ*, *ekbe*, 'came out,' and

 ἔδιδοτο, *dadetu*, 'was given.' With all these there are many words which cannot be at present identified with Greek, but which have come into the language from other sources, or conceal in their forms Greek analogies which are not yet discovered, and more materials are still required for the interpretation of many words which must remain for the present problematical. Appended to this paper is a translation, as far as possible, of the text of the Dali Inscription, with its transliteration and the equivalent Greek forms of the commencement.

Inscription of Dali.

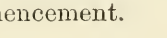
 (3)
Idaliou
of Idalium

 (2)
dagataleu
city

(1)
Ok
In the

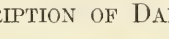
(6)
tes
of the

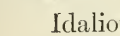
(5)
odi
eighth

 (4)
tegsariku
forty

 (9)
Puthagorau
Pythagoras

 (8)
idi
year

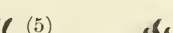
 (7)
Kitites
era of Cittium

 (11)
basileus
the king

(10)
Ikidoslou
being Ekatuslaos

(14)
agodalios
city

(13)
tes
of the

 (12)
Stasiagoras
Stasiagoras

(17)
opastu
to the Temple

 (16)
ineku
gave in remembrance

 (15)
Idaliis
to the Idalians

 (19)
Timoklu
son of Timokles

 (18)
denpasigoru
for [Deino]pasigoras

 (23)
deas
of the goddess

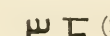
 (22)
tesiku
and to the shrine

 (21)
deas
goddess

(20)
tes
of the

(26)
idaragos

 (25)
deas
of the goddess

 (24)
ilasdi
for propitiation

(30)
i up.nos
. . . . . .

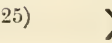
 (29)
ati
the same

(28)
iti
in year

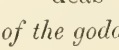
 (27)
deas
of the goddess

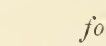
(33)
Tusbi
Thysbe

 (32)
masdu
mother

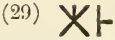
 (31)
euu
of his

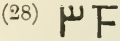
(36)
tes
of the

 (35)
basileus
the king

 (34)
Euisidoses
Euisidosses

(39)
tes
of the

 (38)
opasti
to the temple

 (37)
agodaleos
city

(42)
dis
of the goddess

 (41)
tesiku
to the shrine

 (40)
dis
goddess

(45)
demokarau
of Democharès

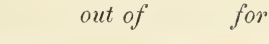
 (44)
teti
was placed

(43)
atdamasdu
invincible

 (50) (48) (47) (46)

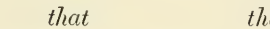
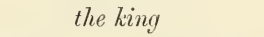
oiki — di — ex — dipai

house — *the* — *out of* — *for the figure*

(54) (53)  (52) (51)

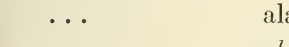
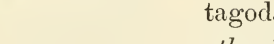
ex — tes — basileos — di

which is in — *that* — *the king* — *of*

(57)  (56)  (55)

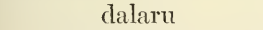
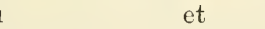
. . . — alara — tagodaliu

. . . — *alara* — *the city*

 (60) (59)  (58)

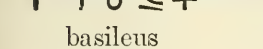
dalaru — et — es anou

of the alara — *also* — *were*

 (63)  (62) (61)

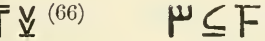
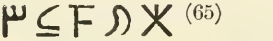
basileus — dedotu — deka

the king — *were given by* — *ten*

 (66) (65) (64)

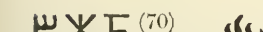
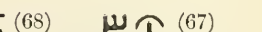
opasti — agodalios — tes

to temple — *the city* — *of the*

(70)  (69)  (68) (67)

dis — teseku — dis — tes

of the goddess — *and to the shrine* — *the goddess* — *of*

 (74) (73) (72)  (71)

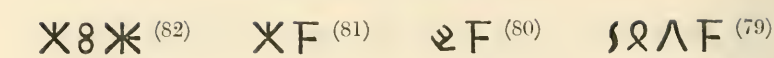
basileos — di — ou — aodi

of the king — *of the* — *which* — *the same*

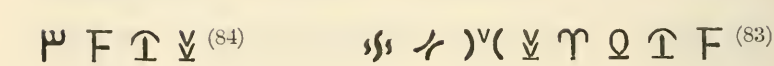
 (78) (77) (76) (75)

a . . pedodi — di — doron — di

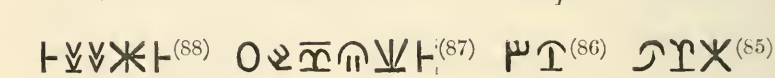
gave — *which* — *gift* — *the*



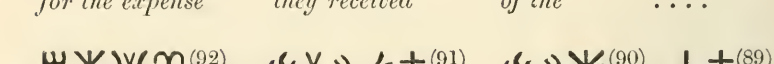
(82) ili *whole* — (81) di *of the* — (80) don *that* — (79) dalaru *of the alara*



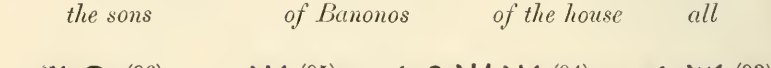
(84) otedes . . . — (83) deteleumenou *was paid*



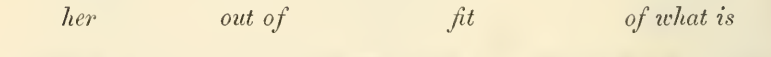
(88) dipodi *for the expense* — (87) deksano *they received* — (86) tes *of the* — (85) iuo . . . .



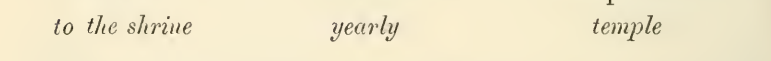
(92) uaas *the sons* — (91) benonou *of Banonos* — (90) iku *of the house* — (89) badi *all*



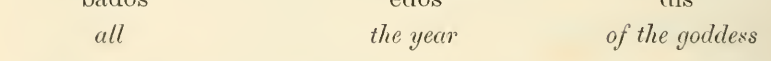
(96) ses *her* — (95) ek *out of* — (94) ikelu *fit* — (93) au *of what is*



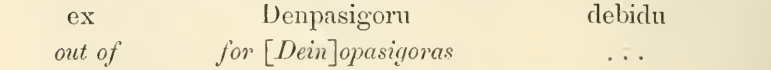
(99) tesiku *to the shrine* — (98) edos *yearly* — (97) opastu *temple*



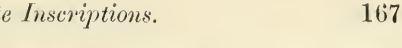
(102) bados *all* — (101) edos *the year* — (100) dis *of the goddess*



(105) ex *out of* — (104) Denpasigoru *for [Dein]opasiqoras* — (103) debidu . . .



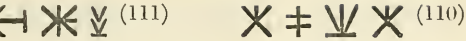
(109) o ax *or not* — (108) ex *out of* — (107) kru *debt* — (106) di *the*



(112) o - ax *or not*

(111) o - ex *which is out*

(110) ikbi *has gone out*



(116) deas *goddess*

(115) tes *of the*

(114) opasti *for the temple*

(113) sas *of her*

(119) etos(i) *for years*

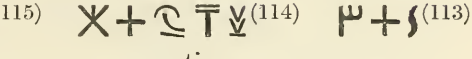
(118) dis *of the goddess*

(117) tesiku *to the shrine*

(122) deka *ten*

(121) depalaru *and of the alara*

(120) basi *all*

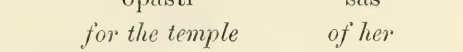


(126) opasti *temple*

(125) tes *of the*

(124) . . . . . .

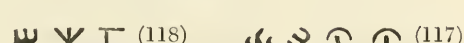
(123) alara *alara*



(129) tesiku *shrine*

(128) iun *of her*

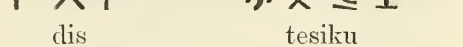
(127) oui . . . .



(132) Aisidoses *Isidoses*

(131) dupatu *paid*

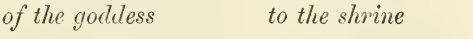
(130) du *which*



(135) agodalios *city*

(134) des *of the*

(133) basileus *the king*

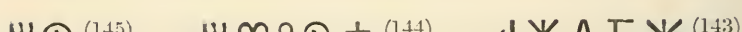


(138) damasidu *the ruler*

(137) Dukru *of Teucer*

(136) dipi *for the statue*

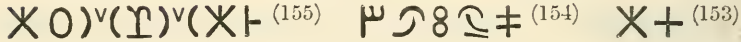
(142) ti *which* — (141) ½ — (140) ¼ — (139) alara *alara*



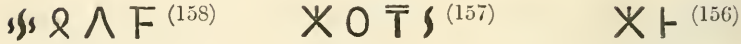
(145) des *of* — (144) basileus *the king* — (143) idoke *gave*

(148) eti *yearly* — (147) opasti *to the temple* — (146) agodalios *city*

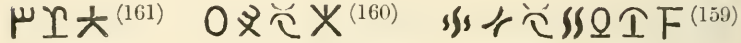
(152) ao *which* — (151) iodi .... — (150) deka *ten* — (149) talara *alara*



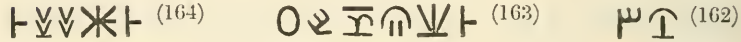
(155) dia-mou ..... — (154) basileos *of the king* — (153) ha *one of*



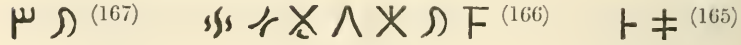
(158) dekru *of the amount* — (157) stoi *the portico* — (156) di *for*



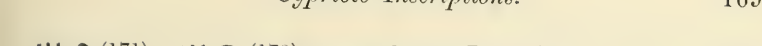
(161) ies *the* — (160) imanu .... — (159) dataluemenou *paid*



(164) dapedi *for the expense* — (163) dekaskano *they received* — (162) tas *which*

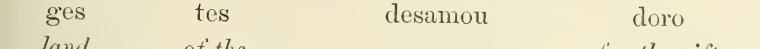


(167) ges *of the land* — (166) degikamenu ..... — (165) badi *all*


(171) (170) (169) (168)

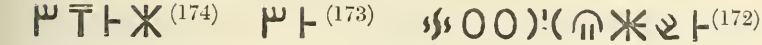
ges — tes — desamou — doro

land — *of the* — .... — *for the gift*


(174) (173) (172)

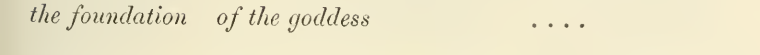
edapos — dis — denisaou

the foundation — *of the goddess* — ....


(177) (176) (175)

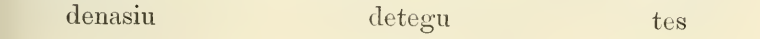
denasiu — detegu — tes

.... — *the roof* — *and of the*


(180) (179) (178)

detiokamas — arulo — dis

Tiakamas — ..., — *of the goddess*


(183) (182) (181)

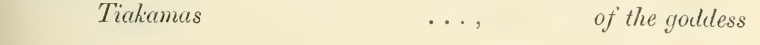
ieu — ik — o Elaiuus

— *out of* — *the Elean*

(186) (185) (184)

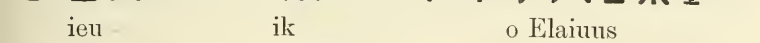
baskalou — ges — degikamenu

.... — *lands* — .....


(188) (187)

dekaskano — tas — danapaskaulu

they assigned — *which* — ......


(192) (191) (190) (189)

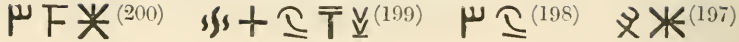
Banonos — iku — bati — dapodi

Banon — *of the house* — *all* — *for the expense*

(196) (195) (194) (193)

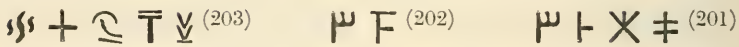
oodi — ikelo — ou — uaos

was thought — *fit* — *of which* — *the sons*


(200) (199) (198) (197)

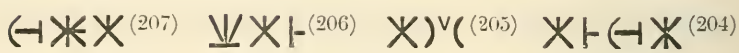
edos — opastu — sas — ek

of the year — *temple* — *her* — *out of*


(203) (202) (201)

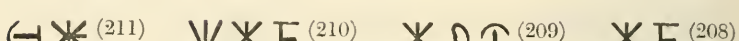
opastu — deas — batos

for the temple — *of the goddess* — *all*


(207) (206) (205) (204)

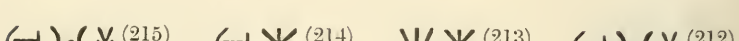
i ix — deka — a(d)o — ex-do

or out of — *twelfth* — *out of the*


(211) (210) (209) (208)

ex — deka — tri — do

out of — *teenth* — *thir-* — *the*


(215) (214) (213) (212)

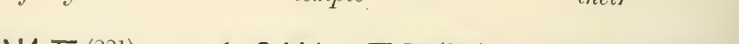
o-ax — ex — eke — o-ax

or not — *out* — *had* — *or not*

(218) (217) (216)

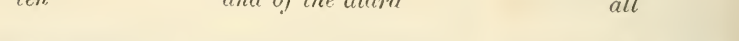
edos — opastu — sisi

for years — *temple* — *their*


(221) (220) (219)

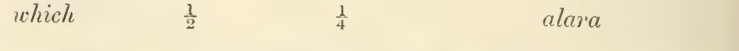
deka — depalaru — basi

ten — *and of the alara* — *all*


(225) (224) (223) (222)

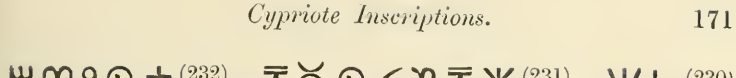
ti — alaru

which — ½ — ¼ — *alara*

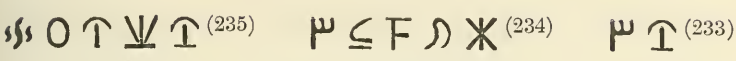

(229) (228) (227) (226)

tipu — deka — dedudu — ex

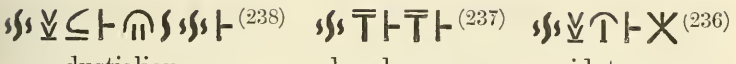
for the statue — *ten* — *were given* — *had*



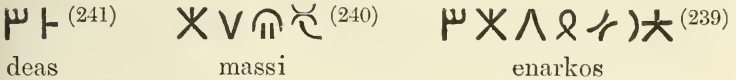
(232) basileus *the king* — (231) epalisimepa *added?* — (230) dek *ten*



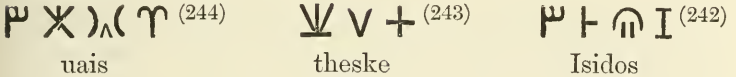
(235) tekatou . . . . . — (234) agodalios *city* — (233) tes *of the*



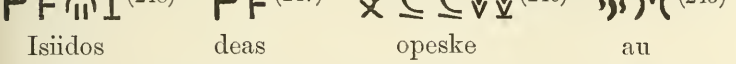
(238) dustialiou . . . . . — (237) dep-dep-u . . . . . — (236) idatou . . . . .



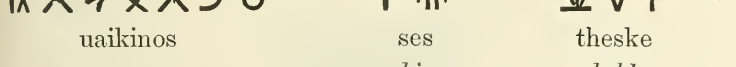
(241) deas *of the goddess* — (240) massi *for the . . . .* — (239) enarkos *the ruler*



(244) uais — (243) theske *held* — (242) Isidos *Isis*

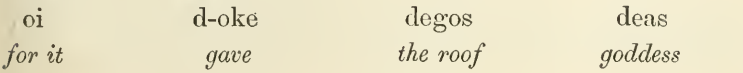


(248) Isiidos *Isis* — (247) deas *of the goddess* — (246) opeske *promised* — (245) au *which*



(251) uaikinos . . . . — (250) ses *his* — (249) theske *held*

(255) tes *of the* — (254) deske *held* — (253) os *which* — (252) deske *held*



(259) oi *for it* — (258) d-oke *gave* — (257) degos *the roof* — (256) deas *goddess*

This interpretation of the Dali inscription must be considered to some extent experimental, many of the words translated being only found in this inscription, and the sense given from their Greek analogies. The types have been specially cut for this Journal.

HÉBRÆO-ÆGYPTIACA.

Par F. Chabas.

Read 2nd January, 1872.

On a déjà signalé des cas très-remarquables d'analogie entre certains points de la doctrine morale des Egyptiens et de celle des Israélites. Ce fait ne peut d'ailleurs exciter la moindre surprise. On conçoit aisément que le développement des germes religieux et moraux, placés par le Créateur au fond de la conscience humaine, doit faire naître ces sortes d'analogies. On les a constatées, en effet, dans les lois morales des nations anciennes de civilisation avancée, et on en a même découvert les traces chez des peuples qui n'avaient pas franchi les bornes de l'état sauvage.

Aussi, ce sujet ne mériterait-il peut-être pas une mention spéciale, en ce qui concerne les rapports de l'Egypte antique avec le berceau de la Chrétienté, si l'identité d'expression ne rendait pas plus significatives quelques-unes de ces analogies.

Dans le cours de mes dernières recherches sur les écritures hiéroglyphiques, j'ai eu l'occasion de reconnaître un cas frappant qui a jusqu'à présent échappé à l'attention des Egyptologues. Le fait de la diffusion, dès les époques les plus reculées, des grandes lois religieuses et morales, dont l'oubli entraîne la ruine des sociétés, est d'une importance considérable : il oblige l'esprit de l'homme à se reporter à ce fonds commun d'origine divine, auquel la sagesse humaine n'a rien pu ajouter d'essentiel.

A ce point de vue, j'ai pensé que ma petite découverte n'était pas indigne de l'attention de la Société d'Archéologie

Biblique de Londres, qui m'a fait l'honneur de m'admettre dans ses rangs.

Je commencerai par l'exposé sommaire de deux autres cas d'analogie connus depuis longtemps.

§

La Charité.

On sait que, pour franchir les portes du ciel occidental et prendre part à la vie divine, chaque Egyptien mort avait à subir un examen sévère, et devait être innocenté de quarante-deux péchés principaux, au châtiment desquels présidaient quarante-deux divinités, jurés des divines assises d'Osiris. Ce mythe, mal compris par les Grecs, a été transformé par eux en un tribunal humain chargé de juger les défunts avant de les admettre à la sépulture. Mais, dans la réalité, l'Egypte n'a jamais eu d'institution de ce genre ni pour les rois, ni pour les simples particuliers; bons et mauvais, tous avaient droit aux honneurs funèbres et aux cérémonies religieuses de l'entrée à l'hypogée; la justice humaine n'avait pas à intervenir, mais, derrière la porte du tombeau, la religion montrait à tous la justice divine attendant le défunt au sortir de la vie, et lui demandant de ses œuvres un compte méticuleux. Seul, le juste voyait s'ouvrir devant lui les demeures de la vie divine, d'où le pécheur était impitoyablement et éternellement repoussé.

Pour mériter ce titre de juste, il fallait n'avoir commis aucune faute grave, ou tout au moins avoir racheté ses iniquités par l'accomplissement des œuvres et des cérémonies prescrites par la doctrine; il fallait, en un mot, que le défunt pût déclarer devant le suprême tribunal qu'il n'avait pas commis les quarante-deux péchés dont nous venons de parler. C'est ce qu'on a appelé *la confession négative.*

A ces quarante-deux fautes, capitales selon la doctrine antique, la conscience craintive des Egyptiens en joignit successivement un certain nombre d'autres, sans toutefois modifier l'arrangement spécial de la confession. L'ensemble

de cet examen de conscience, auquel est ordinairement jointe la scène de la psychostasie, forme le chapitre 125 du Rituel funéraire. L'étude de ce code moral est d'un extrême intérêt.

Au nombre des vertus que le défunt devait avoir pratiquées, on doit s'attendre à rencontrer les bonnes œuvres envers le prochain. Elles s'y trouvent, en effet, et ce ne fut pas sans émotion que Champollion déchiffra le premier dans *le Livre des morts*, ce témoignage que le défunt rend de lui-même :

" *J'ai donné des pains à l'affamé,*
" *de l'eau à l'altéré,*
" *des vêtements au nu ;*
" *un asile à l'errant.*"[1]

Ce sont précisément les termes dont se sert le Christ à l'égard des élus :[2]

" *J'ai eu faim et vous m'avez donné à manger ;*
" *J'ai eu soif et vous m'avez donné à boire ;*
" *J'ai été errant et vous m'avez donné asile ;*
" *J'ai été nu et vous m'avez vêtu.*"

Telle était la formule par laquelle les Egyptiens aimaient à se faire gloire de leur piété et de leur bienfaisance ; elle se rencontre dans les Rituels et sur les stèles depuis le commencement du nouvel empire ; il est probable qu'elle n'était pas inconnue aux temps de l'ancien empire ; les termes en varient fort peu ; cependant, sur quelques monuments, d'autres vertus sont énumérées, mais les secours à la faim, à la soif et à la nudité ne sont jamais oubliés.

Une variante énergiquement imagée se lit sur la stèle d'un nommé Petharpekhrot, publiée par Dümichen (Kalend. Insch. pl. 46) : *J'ai été le pain de l'affamé, l'eau de l'altéré, le vêtement du nu, le remède du malade.*[3]

[1] Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 125, 38.

[2] Matt. xxv, 35.

[3] Porphyre a connu au moins dans ses traits généraux, la suprême prière des défunts. Voici la version qu'il en donne : O soleil, notre Seigneur, qui donnez la vie aux hommes, recevez-moi et introduisez-moi auprès des dieux de l'enfer, avec lesquels je vais habiter. J'ai toujours respecté les dieux de mes pères, et, tant que j'ai vécu dans le monde, j'ai honoré ceux qui ont engendré mon corps ; je n'ai tué aucun homme ; je n'ai point violé de dépôt, ni fait aucune faute irréparable. (De abstin. IV, 8.)

§ II.

L'Obéissance Filiale.

Chez les Egyptiens, plus encore que chez les autres peuples de l'antiquité, la famille formait la base de l'organisation sociale ; la religion, dont la loi civile sanctionnait les prescriptions, consacrait l'autorité paternelle. Sans cesse avivés par les cérémonies périodiques des honneurs rendus aux morts, les liens de famille se perpétuaient de génération en génération. De même que, dans l'ordre politique, le pharaon régnant était regardé comme l'enfant des rois légitimes, ses prédécesseurs,[1] et leur rendait l'hommage religieux, chaque Egyptien, dans le culte de famille, devait honorer ses ascendants paternels et maternels, et ne manquait jamais d'associer à ce culte sa femme et ses enfants de tout âge. C'est ainsi que le passé se rattachait au présent et à l'avenir par la chaîne ininterrompue de la piété filiale.

Aussi, le chapitre des devoirs des enfants envers leurs parents était-il l'un des plus importants du code moral et religieux de l'Egypte. Ces devoirs et les bénédictions attachées à leur observation sont traités en détail dans le livre égyptien le plus vénérable qui soit parvenu jusqu'à nous. Je veux parler du papyrus de Sentences et Maximes rapporté de Thèbes par M. Prisse d'Avennes et donné par ce savant voyageur à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Il est aujourd'hui connu sous le nom de *Papyrus Prisse* et aussi de *plus ancien livre du monde*.[2] Les auteurs de cette compilation vivaient au temps des pyramides, c'est-à-dire dans le quatrième millénaire avant notre ère; l'exécution matérielle

[1] Des rois du nouvel empire sont représentés dans l'action de rendre hommage *aux pères de leurs pères*, devant les images des pharaons des dynasties antérieures jusqu'à Ménès.

[2] J'ai rendu compte de cet ouvrage dans la Revue Archéologique de Paris (tome XV, 1857), et j'ai donné, dans le deuxième volume de la Bibliothèque Universelle Internationale (Paris, 1870), une traduction corrigée des chapitres relatifs à la piété filiale.

du manuscrit est d'une dixaine de siècles plus moderne, ce qui la reporte encore à plus de vingt siècles avant notre ère.

Dans le tableau des félicités promises au fils obéissant, le philosophe égyptien met en relief la longueur de la vie. Voici les termes dont il se sert :

" *Le fils qui reçoit la parole de son père deviendra vieux à cause de cela.*"[1]

Dans un autre passage, il promet encore à l'enfant docile une *vieillesse vénérée.*[2]

Le Décalogue s'exprime absolument de la même manière : *Honore ton père et ta mère, afin que ta vie soit longue sur la terre.*

On trouverait au surplus dans l'Ecriture Sainte l'ensemble des préceptes de la doctrine égyptienne sur ce sujet important. Le livre de Jésus, fils de Sirach, y consacre tout un chapitre, dans lequel on trouve encore la longévité promise comme récompense de l'obéissance filiale : " *Celui qui honore son père et sa mère vivra d'une vie plus longue.*"[3]

§ III.

Interdiction des Jurements.

De même que les Hébreux, les anciens Egyptiens étaient très-enclins à appuyer de serments leurs affirmations. Comme on le fait aujourd'hui, comme toujours, comme partout, ils juraient par Dieu et spécialement par la *vie de Dieu.* Tel était aussi le serment habituel des Israélites. Mais les Egyptiens faisaient un plus fréquent usage du nom et des désignations du roi, ce quasi-dieu sur la terre.

La Thorah hébraïque n'interdisait pas les serments ; elle ne prohibait que le parjure ;[4] mais l'usage abusif ou irrespectueux du nom de Dieu était sévèrement reprimé : le

[1] Papyrus Prisse, pl. XVI, lig. 6.

[2] Ibid, pl. XVII, lig. 10.

[3] Ecclésiastique, ch. 3, v. 6.

[4] *Tu ne proféreras pas le nom de Dieu pour fausseté* (Exode, ch. 20, v. 7). *Tu ne jureras pas par mon nom pour le mensonge* (Lévitique, ch. 19, v. 12).

blasphème, קלל, et la malédiction, נקב, étaient punis de mort.[1]

De plus, en dehors des préceptes de la Thorah, les moralistes réprouvaient l'usage habituel des jurements, qui était dans les mœurs de la nation. C'est ce qu'exprime formellement Jésus, fils de Sirach : "*Jurationi non assuescat os tuum.*"[2]

L'Evangile donne, sur ce point comme sur tous les autres, la formule la plus parfaite : "Non jurare omnino."[3]

Chez les Egyptiens, l'usage des formules d'anathème et de malédiction, l'emploi blasphématoire des noms divins et des formules sacrées, les jurements habituels, étaient également interdits par la loi religieuse. Ces sortes d'abus forment deux articles dans *la confession négative*, dont nous avons parlé au paragraphe premier de ce mémoire. Il y a d'abord la malédiction simple, sans circonstance aggravante, désignée par le mot , shenti ;[4] c'est le vingt-huitième péché ;[5] puis la *malédiction par le roi*, qui constitue le trente-cinquième péché. L'édition de Turin y ajoute la *malédiction par le père*.[6]

Nous pouvons donc conclure de ces faits qu'il existait entre les deux peuples une grande similitude d'idées sur l'objet qui nous occupe ; mais, encore ici, la ressemblance s'accentue d'une manière bien extraordinaire par l'identité d'expression que m'a fournie un texte hiératique appartenant au Musée Britannique.

Ce texte fait partie du recueil d'Inscriptions sur matières dures, la dernière en date des excellentes et magnifiques publications de ce Musée.[7] Il est inscrit au revers d'un fragment de pierre calcaire dont la face principale porte une inscription de quatorze lignes, où se lisent les restes d'une

[1] Lévitique, ch. 24, v. 15, 16.

[2] Ecclésiastique, ch. 23, v. 9.

[3] St. Mathieu, ch. 5, v. 33.

[4] Ce mot désigne aussi les formules d'adjuration magique employées contre les maladies et les dangers. Voyez S. Birch, traduction de Todtenbuch, Bunsen's Egypt's Place, V, page 255, No. 28.

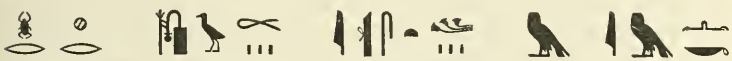
[5] Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 125, 20.

[6] Ibid., ch. 125, 27.

[7] Pl. XVIII, No. 5631.

correspondance d'affaires officielles entre fonctionnaires. Aucune connexion n'existe entre le sujet de cette correspondance et l'écriture du revers, qui seule doit nous occuper ici, et qui comprend seulement une pensée philosophique, correspondant sans doute aux préoccupations du scribe qui l'a tracée. Peut-être devait-il y avoir une série de pensées du même genre, dont la première seule aurait été écrite ; la disparition du premier mot et deux petites lacunes dans le texte laissent la chose indécise ; mais les modifications que pourrait nécessiter une restitution des parties frustes, autre que celle que je propose, ne toucheraient en rien au sens du précepte, ni à la circonstance que ce précepte est cité d'après des écrits anciens. Cette observation faite, voici ce que j'y lis :

Un précepte juste et vrai de doctrine [1]



qui est dans les écrits anciens est : Ne

lance pas ta bouche en jurements. [2]

C'est la maxime de l'Ecclésiastique : "*Jurationi non assuescat os tuum*"; elle a été écrite sur le caillou de Londres par un scribe qui vivait environ douze siècles avant notre ère ; mais elle est attribuée par lui à des doctrines écrites, qui étaient alors considérées comme bien plus anciennes. Ces *antiques écritures* et *les paroles des hommes d'autrefois* sont assez souvent citées dans les textes de l'époque pharaonique. Il n'est pas médiocrement remarquable que, trente-cinq siècles avant notre ère, l'autorité des maximes morales fût déjà placée sous

[1] Littéralement, de *bonne parole*. Les maximes morales du Papyrus Prisse sont aussi appelées *préceptes de bonne parole*.

[2] Des justifications philologiques ne peuvent trouver place ici. J'explique seulement que l'idiotisme *lancer sa bouche* a des analogues en égyptien. On disait notamment *lancer des paroles et se lancer*, à peu près avec le même sens qu'en français. Voyez Mélanges égyptiens, série III, tome 1, p. 139.

la recommandation de traditions séculaires. Nous n'avons aucun moyen d'apprécier cet âge primitif de la civilisation égyptienne ; dès qu'elle se révèle à nous par ses monuments, nous trouvons l'Egypte en pleine possession de sa civilisation, de ses dogmes compliqués et de son écriture merveilleuse ; déjà elle nous semble refroidie dans le moule hiératique qui l'a conservée quatre mille ans, et duquel elle n'est sortie que pour se dissoudre et disparaître de la scène du monde.

Chez ce peuple si remarquable, la loi religieuse dominait la loi civile, si même elle ne la remplaçait pas entièrement. On est donc naturellement conduit à penser que la défense de faire abus du nom du pharaon n'était pas simplement comminatoire. Cette déduction est pleinement justifiée par un texte hiératique appartenant au Musée de Turin et récemment mis au jour par MM. Pleyte et Rossi.[1]

Ce texte fait partie d'une série de documents officiels datés de l'an 29 d'un roi de la XIXe ou de la XXe dynastie, et consistant en rapports sur les affaires du Kher, c'est-à-dire du quartier des tombeaux et des temples funéraires de Thèbes. Ces rapports, qui se suivent à des dates rapprochées, relatent les faits qui devaient être portés à la connaissance des officiers du quartier et du magistrat supérieur de la ville ; ils ont la teneur de notes de police ; on y trouve la constatation de l'ouverture des clôtures, des mesures prises pour les approvisionnements, l'exposé des plaintes de la population ouvrière du Kher, surtout à propos de l'insuffisance de nourriture, le signalement des crimes et délits, détournements, vols, viols, refus de travail, etc., et quelquefois l'invitation de déférer les coupables à la justice.

Voici la traduction littérale du rapport daté du 3 de phaménot :

" Les ouvriers installés au Kher ont ouvert les barrières.

" Les trois Hutou (*sergents, surveillants*) sont partis pour les approvisionnements.

" L'ouvrier Mésou, fils d'Aanekhtou, a dit : l'Auguste ! Celui qu'Ammon dilate ! Le Souverain Royal ! Celui dont les volontés sont plus fortes que la mort !

[1] Les Papyrus de Turin, pl. 43.

" Je porte aujourd'hui l'affaire devant le supérieur. Qu'il se soit couché, je l'ai dit à ses compagnons . . . . . ; mais il ne m'appartient pas de le faire châtier pour son jurement par le nom du pharaon."

Ce texte est facilement lisible dans toutes ses parties excepté dans les groupes que j'ai rendus par : *je l'ai dit à ses compagnons.* Ce membre de phrase présente quelque incertitude. Mais on voit par l'arrangement du contexte que deux espèces de délits sont reprochés à l'ouvrier Mésou. Le premier consiste en ce *qu'il s'est couché;* c'est l'expression habituelle pour indiquer le refus de travail. On la rencontre souvent dans les ordres relatifs à l'organisation des chantiers et dans les rapports des surveillants. Un autre papyrus de Turin notamment prescrit à un fonctionnaire de faire en sorte que, parmi les ouvriers, il n'y en ait pas qui restent couchés pendant que les autres travaillent. Les ouvriers qui se couchent pour ne pas travailler et ceux qui prennent vacance sont signalés en maintes occasions par les agents préposés aux travaux.[1]

Pour ce délit de paresse, le rapporteur a pu prescrire la répression nécessaire ; c'est uniquement sur ce point secondaire qu'il subsiste quelque incertitude dans le texte.

Mais à l'égard du deuxième méfait, *le jurement par le nom du roi*, la gravité du cas dépassait la compétence de notre scribe ; il porte l'affaire devant le supérieur, qui était le Dja ou préfet de la ville.

Dans mon travail sur le papyrus Abbott, j'ai discuté les attributions de divers fonctionnaires participant à l'administration de la justice en Egypte. Les papyrus de Turin confirment mes observations sur cet important sujet. La science possède aujourd'hui une série assez considérable de documents qui s'éclairent mutuellement ; c'est par un travail comparatif sur ces vieux titres que j'ai pu réussir à discerner la portée exacte des phrases courtes et sans cohérence apparente qui m'ont livré un fait intéressant pour l'histoire des mœurs du peuple égyptien.

Je demande grâce pour ces explications qui ne touchent

[1] Voyez ma Note sur un Ostracon de la Collection Caillaud, Zeitschrift de Berlin, 1867, p. 37.

pas directement à mon sujet. Dans l'état actuel de la science du déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes, il est encore indispensable que les traducteurs montrent qu'ils ont suivi les règles de la critique philologique. Cette marche était ici d'autant plus nécessaire que M. Pleyte, dans ses Notices-sommaires, a donné une idée différente du texte que je viens d'expliquer.

Châlon-sur-Saône,
20 *Juillet*, 1871.

CYRUS THE SECOND.

Concerning Cyrus, son of Cambyses king of Persia and of Mandane daughter of Astyages, who overthrew Babylon and released the Jews: as distinguished from Cyrus father of Cambyses, who conquered Astyages, and founded the Empire of the Medes and Persians.

By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S.

Read 5th March, 1872.

There is no more interesting or intricate period of Asiatic history within the range of Biblical Archæology, or one more worthy of investigation by this Society with a view to its true chronological arrangement, than that which embraces the rise of the empire of Babylon on the ruins of the Assyrian empire: the downfall of Babylon under the hand of Cyrus son of Cambyses king of Persia: and the re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine by Darius, after an exile of seventy years in the regions beyond the Euphrates.

This interesting period appears to me to be comprehended with exactness within one century of years: beginning with the memorable date of the solar eclipse of the year B.C. 585, commonly called the eclipse of Thales, soon after which Nineveh fell and Babylon came into the ascendant: and ending with a date almost equally well defined, viz., that of the death of Darius son of Hystaspes, either at the close of the year B.C. 485, or early in the year 484, at the age of 72, as Ctesias relates. And this great king Darius, I assume, as a fundamental point in the chronological arrangement herein proposed, to be identical with "Darius son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes," of the Book of Daniel (Dan. ix. 1).

Three illustrious princes in succession, viz., Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Darius, occupy the ground of Asiatic history during these hundred years, the first and last of whom are

well known to all the world from authentic history: while the history of the second, viz., Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane, has been so thrust into shade, that, except for the accurate researches of Xenophon, set forth in his admirable Cyropædia, all trace of this distinguished character might have been lost for ever in obscurity and myth. The distinguishing feature which truly marks the century, though passed unnoticed by the Greek historians, is the continuous and irresistible progress of a religious revolution in the East: bringing about first the overthrow of the whole Pantheon of Assyrian and Babylonian idolatry: then the introduction by Zoroaster of a more spiritual and enlightened worship in Media and Persia: and lastly the re-establishment and recognition of the pure worship of Jehovah, by the public proclamation of Darius son of Hystaspes—"of the seed of the Medes," as distinguished from the seed of the Chaldeans —towards the end of his life, "that in every dominion of my kingdom men fear and tremble before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God" (Dan. vi. 26).

The first great character, as I have said, which appears upon the scene is the powerful Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. And his first regnal year, after the death of his father Nabopalassar, at the close of whose reign Nineveh was destroyed, must be placed as beginning in the month Nisan of the year B.C. 581: in conformity with the reckoning of the Jewish historian Demetrius, who wrote in the third century before Christ, and in opposition to the reckoning of Ptolemy the Alexandrian astronomer, who wrote about the beginning of the third century after Christ, and who placed the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in the year B.C. 604. The reign of this king, which occupies not less than 43 years of the whole century, I must beg you also to accept as a fundamental and immovable period in my arrangement, from which I cannot swerve, and upon the correctness of which, or otherwise, my whole scheme of reckoning either stands or falls. Nebuchadnezzar died, therefore, after completing 43 full years on the throne, as Berosus attests, in the course of the year B.C. 538. Beneath this mighty king the gods of Assyria—Assur, San, Shamas, Vul, Ishtar, Ninip, Nergal,

Nuschu or Nisroch, and a host of minor deities—bowed down before the gods of Babylon, Bel, Nebo, and Merodach: while to all human appearance even Jehovah himself and his holy temple at Jerusalem were subjected to the same dishonour, as if unable to stand in the presence of these mighty heathen deities; and his humbled worshippers were scattered as exiles throughout the East. But the ways of Jehovah are not the ways of man, and accordingly, as has frequently happened in similar periods of history, before a quarter of a century had passed, we find the minds of the less enlightened Babylonians yielding before the vigour and intelligence of the captive race. Under the mysterious influence of the Hebrew captive Daniel, now "ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon"—the presiding genius as it were of the century—a change came over the mind of this great heathen monarch, who not long before his death is found lifting up his eyes to heaven, "to bless the Most High, and to praise and honour Him who liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom from generation to generation" (Dan. iv, 34). This act of recognition of the power of Jehovah by the king of Babylon closes as it were the first scene of the religious drama of the century.

The second illustrious character, opening the second scene, is Cyrus son of Cambyses king of Persia, grandson of Astyages, whose history, as distinguished from that of Cyrus father of Cambyses, is the object of our present search. And taking for granted the two cardinal points[1] of the proposed rectified chronology, viz., the 43 years' reign of Nebuchadnezzar ending in the year B.C. 538, and the identity of "Darius the Mede" with the son of Hystaspes, the outline of the history of the rise and reign of this second Cyrus, as collected from Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldean authorities, will necessarily be nearly as follows. Astyages his grandfather had died in B.C. 539, and Cyrus I, the father of Cambyses, by whom Astyages had been overthrown, had died about the

[1] These two points have been fully discussed in my work "Messiah the Prince," and in a Chronological Appendix to Mr. G. Smith's "Annals of Assurbanipal."

year B.C. 536, after reigning thirty years, as will be presently shown. And this rude Persian chieftain, who first brought empire to the Persians, left his dominions divided, either as Ctesias relates between his two sons, Cambyses the elder and Tany-Oxarces, or Oxares the younger: or as Xenophon, I think less correctly, states, between Cambyses his son, and Cy-Axares, or Axares son of Astyages the Mede, that is the maternal rather than the paternal uncle of Cyrus II. To Oxares, or Axares, he assigned the eastern division of his empire, comprehending the extensive provinces of Bactria, Choramnia, Parthia, and Carmania, reaching from the Oxus and the borders of India[1] to the Persian Gulf: and this prince manifestly, by title, by territory, and by position in history, can be no other than Achsurus, or Ahasuerus,[2] of the book of Esther, who reigned over 127 provinces from India to Cush, or Chushistan (הַמֹּלֵךְ מֵהֹדּוּ וְעַד כּוּשׁ), in whose reign Mordecai the Jew was captive, and the seat of whose government was at the third royal palace of the empire, Susa. The title of King of Persia, together with the western provinces, fell to the share of Cambyses, as head of the family of the Achæmenidæ. It will be useful to bear in mind as we proceed this division of the empire into two parts, at the time of the accession of Cambyses, which Herodotus has left unnoticed. He seems to have been uninformed of the existence of this great eastern monarch Cyaxares, and his queen Hadassah, or 'Atossa, who shared the empire with Cambyses.

The coming of "a Persian Mule" against Babylon, at the instigation of a Mede, that is, of this Cyaxares, had been announced to the Babylonians by the dying king Nebuchadnezzar, as close at hand in the year B.C. 538. So says Megasthenes, as quoted by Abydenus.—"It is related by the Chaldeans that having ascended his palace, his mind was inspired by some god; and that he spoke thus:—'O Babylonians, I Nabuchodrossor foretell to you an impending calamity, which neither Belus the author of our race, nor

[1] Κῦρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβύσην μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλέα καθίστη· Ταννοξάρκην δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότην Βακτρίων (καὶ τῆς χώρας) καὶ Χοραμνίων καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων.—Müller's "Ctesias," Didot, p. 47.

[2] Uwakhshatarah, king of the Medes.—Behistûn Inscription.

AND TANY-OXARCES B.C. 535.

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF CYRUS 1ST. BETWEEN CAMBYSES AND TANY-OXARCES B.C. 535.

ACCORDING TO CTESIAS.

Queen Beltis could persuade the Fates to avert. A Persian Mule shall come, who with the assistance of your gods shall place a yoke upon your neck: with whom a Mede, the glory of Assyria, shall be allied.' Having thus foretold the coming event, he suddenly disappeared."[1]

Crœsus king of Lydia, seeing now that both Astyages, and Cyrus who had overthrown him, were dead, and misinterpreting the oracle of Delphi, which had been rightly understood by Nebuchadnezzar, and which informed him of the coming reign of a "Mule" in Media, immediately invades that kingdom with the hope of annexing it to Lydia. Cyaxares, or Tanyoxares, king of the Medes, sends forthwith to Cambyses for assistance, and the forces of Media and Persia having been placed under the command of Cyrus son of Cambyses, now not more than twenty-five years of age, and as yet having no kingly authority, Cyrus performs his first great exploit by overthrowing Crœsus in a pitched battle on the plains of Pteria, which was soon followed by the capture of Sardis and the kingdom of Lydia, in B.C. 535. From henceforth Cyrus began to be reckoned amongst kings. He was now king over the Lydians and Armenians, and soon after over the Ionians and Cappadocians, and Media also, which he received as a dowry with the daughter of Cyaxares, and other eastern conquests: and he reigned for twenty-nine years, as Herodotus affirms, even till the year B.C. 506. After the settlement of the affairs of Sardis and Asia Minor, which consumed perhaps two years, say 534, and 533, he led his army against Babylon. This city we are told resisted his attack for a great length of time, and was taken at last by stratagem, as described by Herodotus and Xenophon, in the year B.C. 530. This first capture of Babylon by the Persians fell, therefore, as we are told by Xenophon, within the reigns of Cambyses king of Persia and Cyaxares king of Media.

[1] Μετὰ δὲ, λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων, ὡς αναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήϊα κατασχεθείη θεῷ ὅτεῳ δὴ, φθεγξάμενος δε εἶπεν, Οὗτος ἐγὼ Ναβουκοδρόσσορ, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγελλω συμφορὴν . . . . . Ἥξει Πέρσης ἡμίονος, τοῖσιν υμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν· ἐπάξει δε δουλοσύνην· οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, το Ασσύριον αὔχημα . . . Ὁ μὲν Θεσπισας παραχρῆμα ἠφάνιστο.—Euseb. Præp. Evang. ix, 41.

The marked feature connected with this siege was the entrance of the army through the dry bed of the Euphrates into the city. We all remember the beautiful passage of the Hebrew poet and prophet when speaking of the overthrow of Babylon, in allusion to this event, beginning with the words—"Sing, oh ye heavens, for Jehovah hath done it: shout ye lower parts of the earth: break forth into singing ye mountains"—and ending with these words—"That saith to the deep, be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers: that saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying unto Jerusalem, thou shalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundations shall be laid. Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut." (Isaiah xliv. 23; xlv, 1). This passage, as far as regards the drying up of the river, and the unshut gates, refers no doubt to the first taking of Babylon in B.C. 530. Cyrus, however, did not at this time assume to himself the title of king of Babylon, so setting at defiance the supremacy of his father Cambyses. On the contrary, Xenophon describes him at this time as in every way submissive to the will of his father. The year 530, only thirty-three years after the fall of Jerusalem, is too early for his proclamation, styling himself ruler over "all the kingdoms of the earth."[1] And the words referring to the building of Jerusalem, I think, apply to the time when Cyrus a second time conquered Babylon, after the death of Cambyses, as related by the Chaldean historians, Megasthenes, and Berosus. For Nabonidus, or Nabonidochus,[2] the satrap or governor of Babylon, set over that city by Cyrus in B.C. 529, after his conquest of Babylon for, and with the army of Cambyses, had revolted and seized the throne of Babylon in the year B.C. 522, that is at the time of the general revolt of the empire from Cambyses after his disasters in Egypt; when "Persia and Media, and the other provinces" went over to Gomates the Magian, as related by Herodotus, and as spoken of in the Behistûn Inscription. Nabonidus we are told

[1] Ezra i, 2. [2] Megasthenes writes Nabonedochus, Ptolemy Nabonadius.

retained possession of Babylon, (with one short interval, perhaps, of submission to Darius in B.C. 519 and 520), till his seventeenth year, even till four years after the death of Cambyses in 518: when Cyrus, being firmly established in the north-eastern provinces, brought up his army against him in B.C. 513. Nabonidus fled at once to Borsippa, and surrendered without a siege. And Cyrus, mindful perhaps of former friendship and assistance—when probably in B.C. 530 during the conspiracy against Laborosoarchod he had, as the head of the conspiracy, contrived that the gates of the Euphrates should be left unclosed—now pardoned his rebellion, and appointed him governor of Carmania, one of the provinces, as we have seen, of the eastern division of the empire. And now let it be particularly observed, that Nabonidus, who was thus placed in power in proximity to the prince of the province of Persia, was not suffered to remain as governor in Carmania by "king Darius." Megasthenes, speaking of Nergalsharezar, the successor at Babylon of Evilmerodach, writes—"Nabonedochum in regni solium evehi jussit, ad quem nullo modo pertinebat. Cui Cyrus, Babylone captâ, Carmaniæ principatum dedit. Darius rex de regione depulit aliquantulum" (Euseb. Arm. Anch. p. 30). So that Darius, not Cambyses, would appear to have been the successor, if not the contemporary of Cyrus, according to the reckoning of Megasthenes. Whether this act of Darius took place during the lifetime of Cyrus, or after his death, does not however clearly appear. If, as I suppose, it occurred during his life, it would show that rivalry had commenced between Cyrus and Darius, as heads of the two branches of the family of the Achæmenidæ, as early as the year B.C. 513.

Now it was in the year 513 when Nabonidus surrendered to Cyrus at Borsippa, I think, that Cyrus first assumed the title of "king of Babylon,"[1] and issued his proclamation releasing the Jews, and commanding that the temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt: saying "Jehovah the God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." He then laid siege to Babylon, which we are told by Berosus was not taken till after much trouble, that is to say, till the

[1] Ezra v, 13.

year B.C. 510, after which he continued to reign not more than three years, and died in B.C. 506. Cyrus had now accomplished his destined task. The great gods of Babylon, before whom the gods of the nations had fallen, had now in turn been cast down before the "anointed" of Jehovah. "Bel bowed down, Nebo stooped," and "Merodach was broken in pieces."[1] The way was prepared for the spread of the more spiritual worship of the Magi under the symbol of perpetual fire,[2] in some measure resembling the perpetual offering by fire in the temple of Jerusalem; the doctrines, of the supremacy of one Eternal Being, of the immortality of the soul, of the resurrection of the body, and of the reward of the virtuous in a future state, were promulgated in Media and Persia; and the re-establishment of the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem was decreed. Up to this time Cyrus seems to have prospered in all his undertakings. Every thing was contentment within the provinces subject immediately to his own paternal government. Even during the convulsion which shook his father's portion of the empire to pieces in B.C. 522, we read of no disturbances in Lydia, Ionia, Cappadocia, or Armenia, nor till the time of the revolt of Aristagoras, and the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians in B.C. 603, about three years after his death. He was sole and rightful heir to the whole of his father's dominions, in addition to his own, in B.C. 518. Nevertheless, in his latter years he seems to have come into rivalry, if not into collision, with the ambitious son of Hystaspes. Darius we know had, as early as the year B.C. 535, when only twenty years of age, been accused of plotting against the throne of the elder Cyrus and his son Cambyses. On the revolt of the empire from Cambyses in B.C. 522, he appears to have made himself master immediately of the province of Persia, as he tells us plainly in his inscription—"This is what was done by me before I became a king."[3] And on the death of Cambyses he was unquestionably recognised by the Egyptians

[1] Jer. l, 2.

[2] In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, king Cyrus commanded that the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem should be built again, where they do sacrifice with continual fire.—1 Esdras vi, 24.

[3] Behistûn Inscription. Journal R. Asiatic Soc., Vol. x, Part i, p. 28.

as king of Egypt, as proved by the Apis tablets, and probably also of Syria. Again, at a still later date, probably after the death of Cyrus, he writes—"This is what I did before I seized the kingdom."[1] His policy and religious opinions seem to have been the reverse of those of Cyrus. Cyrus is described by Xenophon as showing favour and reverence on all occasions towards the Magi, and we may presume, therefore, that he was a promoter of the religious movement of his time in Media. He openly proclaimed his recognition of Jehovah as the "God of heaven," and we are told that he had seen and understood the words of the Hebrew prophet,[2]—"I am Jehovah and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness. I make peace, and create evil. I Jehovah do all these things .... I have made the earth, and created man upon it" (Isaiah xlv, 6, 7, 12): which words are evidently spoken in contrast to the Magian dualistic doctrine of Ormazd and Ahriman, light and darkness, good and evil. Darius, on the other hand, publicly proclaimed upon the rock his abhorrence of the Magian innovations. He worshipped indeed "the great god Ormazd" with zeal and sincerity, according to the ancient rites. But he tells us how the state, according to his judgment, had become heretical and abounding in lies during the temporary supremacy of the Magi: how he put to death Gomates the Magian: and how he set himself against, and reversed the rites and ordinances which the Magi had introduced. And as if in counter proclamation to the decree of Cyrus, and to the claims of Jehovah, soon after the death of Cyrus, but probably long before his own death, he set up at Alwand in Media, and also on his sepulchre at Nakksh-i-Rustam, this inscription,—"The great god Ormazd (he it was) who gave this earth, who gave that heaven, who gave mankind, who gave life to mankind, ... who made Darius king .... king of all inhabited countries."[3]

The proclamation of Cyrus for the re-establishment of the temple of Jehovah, and the replacement in Judea, in the province of Syria, "on this side the river" (Ezra iv, 16),

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. xv, Part i, p. 102.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xi, 1, 2.

[3] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. x, Part iii, p. 273.

where Darius, as I have assumed, affected supremacy, of some fifty thousand Hebrews devoted to his service, and worshippers of "Jehovah God of heaven," was naturally distasteful to him. "The adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (iv, 1) were roused and on the alert to obstruct the building. And, what is most remarkable, this decree of the victorious Cyrus, the supreme absolute sovereign of the empire, as also the laws of the Medes and Persians "which cannot be altered," were not only opposed but effectually set aside, "all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia" (Ezra iv, 5). Some more than usually potent influence must have been at work on this occasion to counteract the policy of the great king of Babylon: and there is every reason to believe that the promoter of the opposition was Darius himself. For we read in the Book of Daniel (x, 1—13), that "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia," that is when king of Babylon (Ezra v, 13), B.C. 511, "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" had set himself in opposition to the earnest wishes of Daniel (that he might go up to Jerusalem to fulfil the decree of Cyrus?), and this "prince of Persia" is spoken of almost immediately after as "Darius the Mede" (x, 20; xi, 1), that is Darius son of Hystaspes. Moreover, Daniel adds, that on the refusal of his petition he "remained there with the *kings* of Persia," in the plural; showing that Cyrus in his third year over Babylon was not sole, though supreme sovereign in Persia. "So it (the work of the temple) ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia" (Ezra iv, 24). The decree of Cyrus, therefore, remained in abeyance for twenty years, from the year B.C. 511 to 492. For this second year of Darius is not his second year as king of the province of Persia, B.C. 520, when Cambyses was yet alive and tarrying in Egypt, but his second counted from the time "when he was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans," B.C. 493 (Dan. v, 31; ix, 1).

Now, who were the reigning princes in Babylon and Persia during this interval of abeyance of the decree of Cyrus? Ezra, who was living at Babylon at the time, and who wrote this part of his book in the language of Babylon, is unquestionably the best historical witness on the subject. And it is

before his testimony that the common scheme of reckoning entirely falls to pieces, for want of the slightest support. We are commonly taught to believe that Cambyses and Smerdis were the kings who opposed the building of the temple; and such indeed must have been the fact, if the decree of Cyrus had been issued in the year B.C. 538. But if so, why does not Ezra say so? Ezra does not say so, clearly because he is speaking of a time after the death of Cambyses. For he names Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes, as the obstructors of the work, that is Xerxes and Artaxerxes, probably one and the same king, Xerxes being his true name as used "in the beginning of his reign,"[1] that is before he actually came to the throne, and Artaxerxes being the title which he assumed when first associated with his father in the government as king, as attested by the Septuagint version, or paraphrase of Daniel v, 31, "*Καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ των Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Δαρείος πλήρης τῶν ημερῶν καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει,*" that is when Darius was about "three score and two years old," in B.C. 493. So that the testimony of Ezra is destructive of the common reckoning, as showing that the opposition to the decree of Cyrus was carried on during the government of Xerxes, and yet also during the reign of Darius, that is, as I have said, between the years B.C. 511 and 493. Accordingly we find the people of Samaria, and Artaxerxes himself, speaking in their letters of "*the kings*" of Persia in the plural (Ezra iv, 13, 22). And the nature of this plurality of kings is explained by Darius, to whom the question of rebuilding was referred, when he speaks of "the king and his sons," as to be prayed for in the future services of the temple (vi, 10, 14). So that the obstruction of the building took place at a time when the sons of Darius were of sufficient age to take part with their father in the government. It is simply idle and perverse, therefore, to close the eyes to this evidence of Ezra, and to say that it was Cambyses who obstructed the building, under the name of Artaxerxes. The testimony of Ezra is so distinct, that the opposition to the enlightened policy of Cyrus concerning the building of the temple of Jehovah, took place while Arta-Xerxes, or Xerxes, was in

[1] The same phrase is made use of by Shalmanezer and by Sennacherib, in this sense.

association with Darius, and that Darius overruled the decree of Arta-Xerxes stopping the work, after he had taken the kingdom of Babylon in B.C. 493, that the necessary inference is, that the decree of Cyrus went forth some twenty-five years later than B.C. 538, that is in B.C. 513, where I put it, and not fifty years before Darius gave permission for the building.

It will be convenient to defer all further consideration of the reign of Darius, the third great character in the drama of the century, till the chronology of the Behistûn Inscription is again adverted to. I will now merely trace in few words the progress of the joint movement of Judaism and Magism towards its final triumph at the latter end of the reign of this king. We know from the Book of Esther how in the reign of Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, the uncle of Cyrus, the whole Jewish nation had been destined to destruction, as having already made its religious influence felt, and its people obnoxious throughout the eastern provinces of Persia, as upholding "laws diverse from all people" (Esther iii, 8). We know how the same violent policy from which the Jews then escaped had been put in execution against the Magi, as witnessed by the annual festival of the "Magophonia," spoken of by Ctesias. We have seen how the Magians were beginning to work out their appointed task of reformation towards the end of the reign of Cambyses, and the Jews somewhat later under the fostering government of Cyrus: and again how both were thwarted and repressed under the more bigoted policy of Darius. At length, however, that obstructive policy was suddenly reversed. When Darius had reached the 30th year of his reign in Persia, that is in the year B.C. 492, which was his second after becoming seated on the throne of Babylon, when he had come under the influence of the aged Daniel, now upwards of ninety years of age, when all rivalry with Cyrus was at an end, and he had become undisputed monarch over the whole empire of Asia; we read that his breast was softened, that the almost forgotten decree of Cyrus was sought for by his command, and carried into effect. We find Ezra rejoicing that Jehovah had thus "turned the heart of the king of Assyria."[1] And from Daniel we learn

[1] Ezra vi, 22.

how, after one last desperate effort of the Persian princes to destroy the power of the Hebrew minister, which signally failed, the decree of Darius came forth commanding that the God of Daniel should be reverenced throughout his dominions. As regards the Temple of Jerusalem also we read, "they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Arta-Xerxes king of Persia."[1] In reference to this epoch in the reign of Darius, the Arabian writer Abu Mohammed Mustapha relates in his life of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes, that "after this king had reigned *thirty years*, Zerdust, or Zoroaster appeared—a wise man—who was author of the books of the Magi. At first Gushtasp was disinclined to the new doctrine, but at length was persuaded, and adopted his religion. He was among the disciples of Ozier," or Ezra.[2] Bundari has a passage to the same effect. This view of the history of Darius and Cyrus is I submit consistent and consecutive. That which identifies Darius with Astyages, and Artaxerxes with Cambyses, is incoherent, contradictory, and manifestly absurd.

But to return to the history of Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane, commonly called the Mule. Having given a sketch of his history, let us see what is said of his character. Æschylus the poet is one of the first of secular writers who mentions Cyrus; and two words suffice for this poet to describe the happy genial nature of his character, *ἐνδαίμων*, and *ἔυφρων*. Xenophon, his great admirer, describes him as endowed with every princely virtue, mild, generous, humane, philosophical, holding together his wide dominions rather by the ties of love and gratitude than of force; while, according to Herodotus, he was looked up to by his subjects as to a father rather than as to a king. The Hebrew poet, speaking again in the name of Jehovah concerning Cyrus, writes—"I will make a man more precious than fine gold: even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir"—"Behold I will stir up the Medes"—"and Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah."

[1] Ezra vi, 14. [2] Hydes Religio Veterum Persarum, pp. 310, 317.

Now the question still for consideration is, how to reconcile this view of the history of Cyrus, taken chiefly from Scripture, with facts and dates as established by classical authorities. When was it that this interesting and highly gifted prince reigned as "king of Babylon"?[1] When was it that he proclaimed in the words of the Book of Ezra[2]—"Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah"? Could it be, as collected from Herodotus, before his son Cambyses came to the throne of Babylon in B.C. 529? or was it, as related by Xenophon, some few years after his father Cambyses king of Persia ceased to reign in B.C. 518? The earliest expositors of this period of history, such as Josephus, and Africanus, and somewhat later Sulpicius Severus, took it for granted that "the first year of Cyrus king of Persia," spoken of by Ezra, was the first year of Cyrus spoken of by Herodotus, that is to say the year B.C. 560. Petavius writes —"Nothing is more firmly fixed and established, by the consent of all chronologists ancient and modern, than the first year of Cyrus, as regards the Olympiad: for the ancients without exception have delivered to us that Cyrus began to reign in Persia in the beginning of the 55th Olympiad (B.C. 560), that is the first year of the Olympiad when the contest itself took place."[3] Eusebius, quoting Africanus, writes—"After the seventy years' captivity, Cyrus began to reign in Persia, in the year in which the 55th Olympiad was celebrated, as we find in the books of Diodorus, the histories of Thallus and Castor, as well as Polybius and Phlegon."[4] And Africanus adds, that it was in the year B.C. 560 that Zerubbabel went up to Jerusalem to lay the foundation of the temple.[5] This extravagant and impossible exposition, which places the proclamation of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple about the time when the Jewish historian Demetrius places the destruction of the temple, has long since been exploded. The modern idea is, that the first year

[1] Ezra v, 13. [2] Ch. i, 2.
[3] Petavius, De Doctrina Temporum, X, c. 15.
[4] Euseb. Prep. Evang., L. x. [5] Rouths. Reliq. Sacræ, Vol. ii, p. 271.

of "Cyrus king of Babylon," who proclaimed himself ruler over "all the kingdoms of the earth," was the year B.C. 538. This idea, however, I shall endeavour to show, is supported by as little real authority as the first. The date B.C. 538, for the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, is assumed to be established beyond all controversy, on the authority of the Babylonian Canon of Ptolemy the astronomer. For Ptolemy, adopting the opinion of all the Greek historians who wrote concerning Persia, (who are opposed nevertheless by all Asiatic authorities,) knew but of one Cyrus king of Persia, and naturally, therefore, took it for granted that Cyrus who conquered Babylon was Cyrus father of that Cambyses, whose seventh year as king of Babylon, B.C. 523, he had rightly fixed by an eclipse of the moon recorded at Babylon in that year of his reign. Ptolemy indeed has not taken this date without consideration, and at random: for it is the traditional and true date of the year following the death of Astyages king of Media, B.C. 539, and therefore truly the date of the first year of Cyrus I, father of Cambyses, by right of conquest over Media, and also the year in which Nebuchadnezzar foretold the coming of the Mule against Babylon. The date 539, as the last year of Astyages, who is erroneously identified with Nabonadius, is preserved in two copies of the Babylonian Canon, as given by Syncellus, styled by him the Ecclesiastical and Astronomical Canons.[1] The date, however, is a Median, not a Babylonian date: and the assumed first year of Cyrus in Media, 538, is of course not necessarily his first as king of Babylon. Indeed it is not true, as I shall show, that Cyrus father of Cymbyses ever reigned at Babylon.

This scheme of reckoning is so almost universally received, and has become so much part and parcel of our authorised Bibles by insertion in the margin, that it may not improperly be styled the orthodox reckoning of Scripture chronology. Nevertheless, it leads directly to such unorthodox results, and is found upon examination to stand upon such unsound foundation, that I trust it may soon be set aside and forgotten like its predecessor. There are two inherent difficulties, nay almost impossibilities, involved in this scheme

[1] Syncellus. Dindorf. Vol. 1, pp. 391, 393.

of reckoning. For, in the first place, if Cyrus son of Cambyses, who is supposed to have been the conqueror of his grandfather Astyages, which Xenophon denies, was about forty years of age when he came to the throne of Persia in B.C. 560—an opinion entertained by such writers as Fynes Clinton and Dr. Hales, on the authority of Dinon—then must he have been born in the year B.C. 600, that is to say about fifteen years before his grandfather Astyages married the daughter of Alyattes, and sixty-one years, as I believe, before his grandfather's death. And even if we lower the age of Cyrus to twenty-five years in B.C. 560, he would have been born in the very year of that marriage, marked by the solar eclipse of B.C. 585. Cyrus, therefore, grandson of Astyages, who unquestionably was the conqueror of Babylon, could hardly be the Cyrus who began to reign about the year B.C. 560, or rather 565, and who preceded Cambyses in Persia.

Secondly, the prophet Daniel, who was cognisant of all the great events of the century, having served in the Courts of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Belshazzar, and Darius, tells us that Jerusalem lay desolate after its destruction by the Chaldees just seventy years, and that these seventy years expired about the first year of the reign of his master Darius king of Babylon, when "about three score and two years old," as is supposed in B.C. 538:[1] while another prophet, Zachariah,[2] records that just seventy years of "indignation" against Jerusalem had expired in the second year of Darius son of Hystaspes king of Persia and Babylon, and these seventy years are supposed to have expired when the son of Hystaspes was about thirty-six years of age, in B.C. 520. Thus it becomes necessary to invent a fictitious king Darius, never yet heard of in history, to meet the first occasion, in B.C. 538: and two periods of seventy years duration each, counted from the same point of time, are assumed to have expired at periods twenty years apart.

Such are some of the insuperable difficulties involved in this common scheme of reckoning. It is not surprising, therefore, that certain Essayists, conscious of these contradictions, should have declared with regard to the Book of

[1] Dan. v, 31. [2] Zachariah i, 12.

Daniel, that "so little has this book (as now received) the framework of chronicle, that it presents four kings in succession, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus, whom no discoverable history arranges in that order:" while other zealous critics, not doubting the correctness of the reckoning, have thereby been logically led to the conclusion, that the Book of Daniel is neither more nor less than a forgery of the time of the Maccabees. Again, by the adoption of this same reckoning, we find Monsieur de Saulcy, an eminent member of this Society, in a work bearing date as late as 1868, deliberately charging the Book of Ezra with corruption, as speaking of king Artackhchachta, where the true reading he thinks ought to be Cambyses; at a time when, according to the reckoning here proposed, Cambyses had been dead some twenty years.[1] Even the writers in that valuable compilation, "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," bearing date B.C. 1860, still cling to the inconceivable exposition, which teaches that Darius, at whose court Daniel ruled as minister, and who knew his master only by the title Darius, was no other than Astyages: that the well-known king Cambyses, so recorded on Persian and Egyptian monuments, was specially known to Ezra, and Ezra only, by the title Ahasuerus: that the Magian usurper Gomates of the Behistûn Inscription was specially known to Ezra as Artaxerxes: and that Belshazzar, of whose history we know nothing excepting that he was the son of Nabonidus, and that he was succeeded on the throne by Darius, was indeed conquered, not by Darius but by Cyrus in B.C. 538. The late Duke of Manchester, who had devoted much deep study to this subject, and who has left a work full of research and valuable material for the benefit of those who come after him, was so overwhelmed by the perplexities and contradictions of the common reckoning founded upon Ptolemy's Canon, that he was even willing to accept, as a preferable alternative, the monstrous idea, that Cyrus I. king of Persia was identical with Nabopalassar king of Babylon, and Cambyses his son with Nebuchadnezzar the Great.[2]

[1] "C'est l'ecrivain sacré que se trompe, ou bien plutôt c'est un copiste maladroit qui a écrit le nom Artackhchachta au lieu de nom Kambouziah."—Ezra iv, 8. Etude Chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhemie, p. 73.

[2] "The Times of Daniel," by George Duke of Manchester, p. 126.

My object then expressly is, to set aside that portion of Ptolemy's arrangement of the kings of Babylon and Persia which begins with the reign of Nabokolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar, in B.C. 604, and ends with the death of Cyrus in 530, as resting upon no astronomical data: as misdating the most important of all chronological epochs in sacred history, the first year of Cyrus "the anointed of Jehovah:" as leading to false interpretation of Holy Scripture: and as altogether unworthy of adoption by this Society, as wanting historical foundation.

I will first lay down a technical outline of dates in connection with Persian, Median, Babylonian, and Lydian history, during the century under consideration, founded as I believe on unquestionable data: and will then endeavour to establish two leading propositions:—

1st. That Cyrus the father of Cambyses, who conquered Astyages, king of Media, in B.C. 559, and founded the empire of the Persians and Medes, neither conquered Babylon, nor reigned at Babylon, before Cambyses took that throne in B.C. 529.

2nd. That Cyrus son of Cambyses, grandson of Astyages, twice conquered Babylon: but did not take the title "king of Babylon" till after the death of his father in B.C. 518.

Dates connected with Persian and Median History.

B.C.

585. No one, I presume, will question the correctness of this date as that of the eclipse of Thales, and as marking the time of the marriage of Astyages, grandfather of Cyrus, with the daughter of the king of Lydia, forty-six years before the death of Astyages in B.C. 539.

583. Date of the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar, or Ahasuerus and Nabuchodonosor (Tobit xiv, 15), placed as usual soon after the eclipse of Thales, that is in the 31st year of Cyaxares I. Cyaxares began to reign in the year B.C. 613, that is in the year following the death of his father Phraortes, or Arphaxad, in the 12th year of Nabopalassar, or "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh" B.C. 614.[1]

[1] See Appendix to Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 352.

B.C.

573. First year of Astyages, forty years after the death of Phraortes in B.C. 513.

557. Partial eclipse of the sun at Larissa, or Nimrûd. This city, says Xenophon, "was besieged by the king of the Persians, *about the time when the Persians took the empire from the Medes*, but he could by no means get possession of it. A cloud, however, having come over the sun, it disappeared to that extent that the inhabitants forsook the place, and thus it was taken."[1] (Anabasis, ch. iii).

556. Darius son of Hystaspes was born in this year, having died, according to Ctesias, at the age of 72, in B.C. 485-4.

539. Last year of the reign of Astyages. See p. 197.

538. First year of Cyaxares II., or Tany-Oxarces, king of Media, son of Cyrus I. by Amytis daughter of Astyages.[2]

536. Date of the death of Cyrus the father of Cambyses, and accession of Cambyses in Persia, when Darius was just 20 years old.

523. Eclipse of the moon at Babylon on the 16th July, in the 7th year of Cambyses (Ptolemy's Almagest).

502. Eclipse of the moon at Babylon on 19th November, in the 20th year of the reign of Darius (Ptolemy).

493. Darius completes the 62nd year of his age, say in the summer of B.C. 494 (Ctesias), and is made king "over the realm of the Chaldeans" in the course of his 63rd year, in 493 (Daniel v, 31; ix, 1).

491. Eclipse of the moon at Babylon on 25th June, in the 31st year of the reign of Darius (Ptolemy).

484. Darius completes his 72nd year, say in the summer of this year, and dies towards the close of the year B.C. 485, or beginning of 484 (Ctesias).

[1] Ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα, ἠφάνισε, μέχρις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξέλιπον, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω. This eclipse, which is said to mark the precise latitude of the moon on the 19th May B.C. 557, has been taken by astronomers as a fixed point in working out the lunar theory. See Philos. Trans. 1853; Sir J. Herschel's Astronomy, p. 685; Hansen's Lunar and Solar Tables. And if Cyaxares, or Tany-Oxarces, was the son of Amytis who married Cyrus when he conquered Astyages, and was of age to take the government of a portion of the empire in B.C. 536, he was probably born not later than about the time of the eclipse. There is therefore no reason to doubt, as I have doubted in an Appendix to Smith's Assurbanipal, whether the eclipse of B.C. 557, is really the eclipse here referred to by Xenophon. But I think it was probably not total, as there is no mention of sudden darkness, and that the shadow passed south of Larissa.

[2] Ctesias.

I now wish to draw particular attention to the date B.C. 536, the year of the death of Cyrus I., and of the accession of Cambyses: in the first place, as affording the true key to the involutions of this period of Persian chronology; and also especially, because the question for consideration being, whether Cyrus king of Persia reigned at Babylon before or after Cambyses, it is of the first importance to fix with exactness the date and length of Cambyses' reign.

Now if Darius son of Hystaspes was born in the summer of the year B.C. 556, he would have completed the twentieth year of his age in the summer of 536: and it was at the time when Darius was just completing his twentieth year, Herodotus tells us, that Cyrus father of Cambyses set out on his fatal expedition against Tomyris, or Amoræus,[1] after having appointed Cambyses his successor on the throne of Persia. On the first night after Cyrus had passed the river into the territory of Tomyris, "he saw," says Herodotus, "in his sleep the eldest son of Hystaspes, with wings on his shoulders, shadowing with one wing Asia, and Europe with the other. Now Hystaspes the son of Arsames was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, and his eldest son was at that time scarce twenty years old, *ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ες ἔικοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα.*"[2]

We may feel assured that this is no careless record of Herodotus, but historically true and exact; because it affords the means of bringing the reckonings of Ctesias, Manetho, and the Parian Chronicle, into harmony with each other, and also with his own, which otherwise appear to be hopelessly at variance. Placing then the first year of Cambyses in the twenty-first year of the age of Darius, B.C. 536-5, as thus fixed by Herodotus, the reckoning of Ctesias will run thus:—

	Reigned.	From B.C.
Cyrus father of Cambyses ..	30 years..	565
Cambyses..	18 „ ..	535
Darius, who died at the age of 72	31 „ ..	517
Xerxes (in association with Darius) ..	..	486

The reckoning of Manetho runs thus:—"Cambyses in

[1] Ctesias. [2] Herod. i, 209.

the fifth year of his reign over the Persians, (B.C. 525), reigned over Egypt six years," that is to say, Cambyses reigned in all eleven years, counting with Herodotus from the time of his becoming king of the *empire of Persia*, in B.C. 529, after the overthrow of the empire of Babylon, as we shall see, in 530. Now if we reckon these eleven years from the month Nisan 529, according to the Babylonian reckoning, Cambyses will have ceased to reign in the year B.C. 518, and Gomates the Magian, who usurped his throne, will have been slain seven months after his death, and Darius will have come to the throne in B.C. 517, which date is in harmony with the reckoning of Ctesias.

The Parian Chronicle, written in the year B.C. 264, computes from that date, upwards, to the accession of Darius, as copied by Selden, in these words:—"From the time when Darius reigned over the Persians, after the death of the Magian, 253 years." That is 253+B.C. 264=B.C. 517. The reckoning of the Chronicle, therefore, is also in agreement with the reckoning of Ctesias, and with Manetho.

Lastly, Herodotus allows seven years and five months to the reign of Cambyses, and seven months for the reign of the Magian, and his reckoning runs thus:—

	Reigns.	From B.C.
Cyrus father of Cambyses..	29 years	558
Cambyses	7 years 5 months	529
The Magian	7 months	522
Darius son of Hystapses ..	36 years	521
Xerxes from the year of his association with his father	21 „	486

Thus Herodotus agrees with Manetho as to the time when Cambyses took the throne of the empire of Persia, B.C. 529: but differs with Ctesias, Manetho, and the Chronicle, inasmuch as he places the accession of Darius in the year B.C. 521, instead of the year B.C. 517, and allows 36 years to his reign, instead of 31. Nevertheless, Herodotus is unquestionably correct as regards the 36 years' reign of Darius; for his 36th year is recorded on two different monuments on the Cossier Road in Egypt, and his 35th year is found

inscribed on a tablet inscribed at Babylon, and also on a papyrus at Turin.[1]

On the other hand, the correctness of Ctesias, Manetho, and the Chronicle is equally well attested by inscriptions in the Serapéum at Memphis. For there is now in the Serapéum the tomb of an Apis, which was born in the fifth month (May), of the fifth year of the reign of Cambyses, lived upwards of seven years, and died in the fourth year of Darius. Now this fifth year of Cambyses must necessarily be counted from the year B.C. 525, in which year Cambyses first became king of Egypt, if it is true, as Manetho states, and as is recorded on a monument in the Cosseir Road, that he reigned in Egypt six years: and that it is true, is proved beyond question by an Apis tablet, which records the death of an Apis in the eleventh month of the fourth year of Cambyses. For the fourth year of Cambyses, king of Egypt, could not have been so registered by the priests at Memphis in the year B.C. 526, in the year before Cambyses had come down into Egypt, and before he had conquered Amasis; but must have been so inscribed in November B.C. 522, in the fourth year after his conquest of Egypt, as the epitaph in the fifth year must have been inscribed in the fifth year after the conquest, that is in May 521.

From all which it is obvious that Darius had seized, and begun to reign over the province or kingdom of Persia, that is over that portion of the kingdom which had belonged to his ancestors the Achæmenidæ from the olden time,[2] more than three years before the death of Cambyses, who died on his way home from Egypt, and four years before the death of Gomates the Magian: and this without encroaching upon the territories of Cyrus son of Cambyses, the seat of whose government was at Acmetha,[3] or Ecbatana. Thus there arose two well known, and well defined modes of computing the years of the reign of Darius, one beginning with the year B.C. 521, the year of his usurpation in Persia, the other in the year B.C. 517, counting from the death of Cambyses, after which he was also acknowledged as king of Egypt.

[1] Tattam and Young's Egyptian Grammar, p. 9.

[2] See Behistûn Inscription. [3] Ezra vi, 2.

This double mode of computation of regnal years, which in his 20th year over Persia had merged into one, that is the longest, as attested by the astronomical dates preserved by Ptolemy, in his 20th and 31st years, seems to be referred to on one of the Babylonian contract tablets now in the British Museum. This tablet is a curious, and apparently a very valuable document, leading, as I think, to an important inference concerning the early years of the reign of Darius, and runs thus:—

> "————which Ipnazir, son of Bania, made for Belibni, son of Nazirnansu, in the month Airu, (2nd month), of the 17th year ———— 40½(?) of ——— which Ipnazir, in the city of Karnebo, gave.
>
> "The witnesses were, Nur son of Limunu, Ribat son of Belzamaru, Mirinu son of Nabubelraḫru, Tidanetbil son of Nabu——
>
> "(Dated) City of Karrinabu, month Sivanu, (3rd month), 1st day, 13th year of Darius, king of nations."[1]

The document I assume to be the record of a payment made in Karnebo by Belibni—one who counted the years of Darius according to the long reckoning beginning in B.C. 521—by his attorney Ipnazir, in May of the 17th year of Darius: and registered in the following month of June, according to the official, or short reckoning, of the city of Karrinabu, in the 13th year of Darius, that is June B.C. 505.

And the inference to be drawn from it is, that while a well understood reckoning of the years of Darius was actually in use at that time beginning in B.C. 521, that reckoning either had never been made use of in the city of Karrinabu, or if so, its use had been discontinued down to the year B.C. 505, that is till after the reign of Cyrus son of Cambyses, who died in the course of the year B.C. 506. It will be expedient to bear in mind this document, when considering hereafter the events of the early part of the reign of Darius, which bear no date.

Herodotus, then, though apparently contradicted by the other three authorities, is fully justified in placing the last

[1] Translated by Mr. G. Smith.

year of Cambyses as king of Persia in B.C. 522, the year of the general revolt, and the first year of Darius in B.C. 521. For, assuredly, Cambyses neither reigned over Persia nor Media after that date, nor indeed over any of the dependent provinces, excepting only Egypt, where he still remained supported by his army.

And now let us turn once more to the date B.C. 536-5, to the great importance of which I have drawn attention, as the year of the death of Cyrus father of Cambyses, and of the accession of his son to the throne of Persia, as certified by the fact that it was about the 20th year of the age of Darius, as accurately stated by Herodotus. By the adoption of this one date, as we have seen, we are enabled to solve and harmonise the apparent contradictions of the several histories of the period, and to frame an outline of Persian chronology, of the correctness of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained. It is, indeed, the outline upon which all ancient classical histories of Persia have been written. And while grateful to Herodotus for the facts leading to this definite conclusion, it must at the same time be admitted that Ctesias has here proved himself to be a trustworthy historian, and by no means inferior to the father of history in the chronological precision of his record of the same events. If we cast the eye down the first column of the chronological chart thus framed,[1] we readily perceive how it has happened, that Greek historians writing upon Persian affairs have with one consent concluded that one Cyrus only, viz.—Cyrus father of Cambyses—ever sat on the throne of Persia: and how Ptolemy, therefore, following in the wake of these historians, has felt himself constrained to place the reign of Cyrus king of Babylon, before the reign of Cambyses over that city. For clearly, there is no opening left, even of a single year, within the close-set framework of authentic Persian chronology, as here arranged, wherein to insert the reign of a second Cyrus.

The idea, therefore, here propounded of the existence of such a prince must at once be dismissed as untenable, unless it can be shown, as I intend to show, that a prince bearing

[1] Table No. 4, pp. 232–235.

this title, of the elder branch of the family of the Achæmenidæ, reigned collaterally with some of the kings set forth on the chart. I will first bring forward the testimony of Lucian, which is in remarkable agreement with the reckoning here adopted, as regards the date of the death of Cyrus in B.C. 506, that is to say, *twelve years* after the death of Cambyses, and which leads by implication, therefore, to the conclusion that Cyrus reigned at Babylon not before, but after Cambyses, in direct contradiction of Ptolemy. I will then proceed to fix the dates of the reigns of the several kings of Babylon who reigned after Nebuchadnezzar, according to the reckoning of Demetrius, leading precisely to the same result.

Lucian, discoursing on the subject of the great age to which some men have lived, writes—"Cyrus also the ancient king of Persia, as testified by the Persian and Assyrian annals, with which also Onesicritus writing concerning Alexander seems to agree, when he was one hundred years old, inquired individually concerning each of his friends, and was informed that most of them had been put to death in the time of his son Cambyses. And thinking that these acts had been perpetrated by command of Cambyses, and that the cruelty of his son reflected upon himself as in a measure the cause of such illegalities, he died in grief."[1]

Lucian, like other Greek writers, can only bring himself to believe in the reign of one Cyrus, and necessarily, therefore, and indeed truly, speaks here of Cambyses king of Persia as son of Cyrus. But Herodotus, we have seen, has shown that Cyrus king of Persia, father of this Cambyses, did not survive his son, but, on the contrary, that the one died, and the other came to the throne in the year B.C. 536-5. Now Dinon truly reports that Cyrus, father of Cambyses, died at the age of 70, and he was born therefore in the year B.C. 606-5. Lucian, therefore, when counting one hundred years to the

[1] Κῦρος δὲ, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιὸς, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ Περσῶν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων ὧροι, οἷς καὶ Ονησίκριτος ὁ τα περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγγραψας συμφωνεῖν δοκεῖ, ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος εξήτει μὲν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν φίλων· μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς πλείστους διεφθαρμένους ὑπὸ Καμβύσοῦ τοῦ ὑιέος, καὶ φάσκοντος Καμβύσον κατα πρόσταγμα τὸ ἐκείνου ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, το μέν τι προς την ὠμότητα τοῦ ὑιοῦ διαβληθεὶς, τὸ δὲ τι ὡς παρανομοῦντα αυτον αιτιασάμενος, αθυμήσας ετελεύτα τον βίον.—Lucian. iv. Macrob.

death of Cyrus, that is in the year B.C. 506-5, is indeed quite accurate in his reckoning. But he is so far inaccurate, that while recording the true date of the death of Cyrus son of Cambyses, he speaks of him erroneously as if he were Cyrus father of that king. He has evidently joined together the lives of Cyrus the father and Cyrus the son of Cambyses. The great value of his testimony lies in the fact, that in his days Persian and Assyrian records were in existence, proving that a certain Cyrus king of Persia died *twelve years* after the date of the death of Cambyses king of Persia in B.C. 518: and this is the king we are in search of.

Dates connected with Babylonian and Lydian History.

B.C.

585. Date of the marriage of Astyages, grandfather of Cyrus, son of the then reigning king of Media, with the daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia.

584. Date of the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar with the daughter of Astybares,[1] or Cyaxares, king of Media.

583. Date of the fall of Nineveh, in the reign of Saracus, successor of Sardanapalus, conquered by Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares. (Abydenus.)

581. Date of the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after the death of his father Nabopalassar, counted from the month Nisan.

573. Date of the captivity of Jehoiakin, in the 8th year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. (2 Kings xxiv, 12.)

563. Date of the fall of Jerusalem, in the fifth month (Ab) in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar. (2 Kings xxv, 8.)

559. Date of the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 23rd year of his reign. (Jerem. lii, 30.)

This is the cardinal date of the whole reckoning. For "Demetrius says, in his work concerning the kings of Judea, that the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi were not carried into captivity by Sennacherib. But that from this captivity (that is in the reign of Sennacherib),

[1] According to Eupolemus, and Ctesias. Abydenus, and Polyhistor write Astyages.

B.C.

to the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem under Nebuchadnezzar, was a period of 128 years and 6 months. And that from the time when the ten tribes were carried away from Samaria (in the reign of Shalmanezar) to the reign of the fourth Ptolemy was a period of 573 years (read 473) and 9 months, and from the carrying away from Jerusalem, 338 years and 3 months." (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.)[1]

537. Date of the "year of the reign" of Evilmerodach king of Babylon "in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin." (Jerem. lii, 31.)

534. Date of the accession of Nergalsharezar (the Rab-mag,(?) Jerem. xxxix, 3), who reigned four years. (Josephus con. Apion 1, from Berosus.)

530. Date of the reign of Laborosoarchod, king of Babylon, who reigned nine months, and was slain by conspirators, who were probably in league with the army of Cyrus, outside the walls. (Xenophon's Cyrop. vii, v, 32, 33.)

529. Date of the reign of Nabonidus, or Nabonidochus, or Nabonadius, or Nabonahid, one of the conspirators, viceroy, or governor of Babylon under Cambyses, deposed by Cyrus in his seventeenth year, B.C. 513.

513. Date of the reign of Cyrus king of Babylon, son of Cambyses, who reigned seven years, and died in B.C. 506.

And now we can readily understand how Lucian and Onesicritus might refer to Assyrian and Persian records, as testifying that Cyrus king of Persia died, not before, but after Cambyses, and exactly one hundred years after the birth of the first Cyrus, in B.C. 606.

493. Date of the death of Belshazzar, or Belsharezar, son of Nabonidus, and accession of Darius in the 63rd year of his age.

592. Date of the first year of Darius, as "set over the realm of the Chaldeans," counted from the month Nisan. (Dan. ix, 1, 2.)

This also is a cardinal date.

I have now to direct attention to a series of extremely

[1] Ptolemy IV Philopator, began to reign November B.C. 222.

valuable documents in the British Museum, which, owing to the mass of material requiring to be examined, have perhaps not hitherto received the full attention they deserve. They consist of a collection of Babylonian Contract-tablets found by Mr. Loftus at Warka, in Chaldæa, between the years 1849 and 1852, dated in the reigns of the last kings of Babylon, from Nabonidus to Darius. It will probably be by means of these documents, with others of a similar nature in foreign collections, and others again which will hereafter be brought from the ruined cities, that the question of the true order of succession of the Achæmenian kings of Babylon will finally be established. Meanwhile, I think it is clear, that the records of this Registration Office at Warka, thus recovered, are sufficient to set aside the order of arrangement of reigns as laid down in the Canon of Ptolemy. I will first give the documents in the order in which they have been presented to me, that is to say, arranged in the same order as the reigns in Ptolemy's Canon: and then set them forth, for comparison, according to the reckoning of Demetrius. The dates and names upon the tablets have been kindly furnished to me by Mr. George Smith of the Museum.

Mr. Loftus writes—"While rambling over the mounds one day, I accidentally observed two bricks projecting through the soil of the wall or terrace which constitutes the edge of the great platform on the east of the Buwáríyya. Thinking from their vitrified appearance, that they were likely to bear cuneiform legends, I extracted them from the earth, and, in doing so, exposed two small tablets of unbaked clay, covered on both sides with minute characters. On searching further, others were discovered, and eventually there were obtained forty, more or less perfect, varying from two to four-and-a-half inches in length, by one to three inches in breadth. Many others were either irrevocably damaged by the weather, or unavoidably broken in extraction *from the tenacious clay in which they were disposed in rows, and embedded on a brick pavement.*"—"They were undoubtedly deposited in the position where they were discovered, about the commencement of the Achæmenian period."[1]

[1] Loftus' Chaldæa and Susiana, pp. 221, 222.

Now it may be gathered from this statement, that these documents had originally been stowed away in compact and consecutive order, imbedded in clay as if not required for immediate use, but capable of being referred to at any time if required. If, therefore, they had been kept together in the order in which they were found packed upon the pavement, they would undoubtedly have revealed the historical fact of which we are in search, whether "Cambyses king of Babylon" named on these tablets, had reigned before, or after the "Cyrus king of Babylon" there named: and thus have decided the question between Demetrius and Ptolemy. The tablets, however, having become separated, it is only from internal evidence that they can now be re-arranged in the order in which they were found. And this I believe to be not impossible.

The title of each Achæmenian king is inscribed on the tablet, either as—

King of Babylon, and King of Nations.

or only King of Nations.

And this last form, "King of Nations," is expressed by a repetition of the syllable *mat* (nation) twice, thus— , or thus— , with the plural termination, being I conceive an abbreviated form for "king of the two nations"; which I assume to represent the two confederate nations of Media and Persia. So that Cambyses, Cyrus, and Darius were each named in the Register, either as king of Babylon, and also king of the two confederate nations, or king of the two confederate nations only, as the fact might be at the time of registration.

Now, if this be so, the frequent variation of kingly title, and interchange of kings, observable in the Register, ought to correspond with the vicissitudes in the history of this turbulent satrapy of Babylonia, showing its alternate periods of submission and revolt under the Persian yoke; and also ought to mark the progress of that conflict for supremacy, which we know ended in the entire overthrow of Babylon by Darius in B.C. 493. On turning, therefore, to Table No. 1, we immediately observe that Darius was recognised at Warka as reigning king at Babylon during eighteen months, from the month Elul (Sept.) B.C. 520, to the month Adar (March) 518, that is to say for about two years before the death of

Cambyses. Thus confirming what we had before arrived at, that Darius began his reign in rebellion and usurpation, before his master's death. But what is still more remarkable and interesting is, that from March B.C. 518, to Feb. 506, that is for *twelve years* precisely, he was not known or registered at Warka in connexion with the throne of Babylon. And we have already seen that the difference between Demetrius and Ptolemy is this,—that according to Demetrius, Cyrus son of Cambyses reigned over the empire of Persia, collaterally with the reign of Darius over the province of Persia, for this same period of twelve years, ending in B.C. 506.

Some powerful agency, clearly, was at work in Babylon during these twelve years, by means of which the ambitious designs of Darius were counteracted, and he himself excluded from the throne of that coveted province. And if we turn to Table No. 2, in which the tablets are arranged according to the dates of Demetrius, we learn that the opponent of Darius, for the first five years of this period, was no other than the able and energetic Nabonidochus, of whom Berosus writes, that in his reign the walls of Babylon were built with burnt brick and bitumen,[1] after the death of Nebuchadnezzar: and that after the fall of Nabonidochus, the still more able and energetic Cyrus, who conquered that king, was his opponent for seven years. Herodotus alludes to this rebellious state of the Babylonians at this time, though he knew not the name of their spirited leader. He tells us that while the Magus occupied the throne of Persia, that is in B.C. 518, and the seven were conspiring against him, the Babylonians *in the confusion* made preparations for a siege, and that somehow or other their preparations were unobserved.[2] The intended resistance however was most determined; for, with the exception of their mothers and one woman selected by each for cooking, the whole of the female population of Babylon was put to death, in order to save provisions. This rebellion of Nabonidochus was equally directed to the exclusion of Darius and Cyrus from the province. Cyrus, however, overthrew him, and reigned; but as for Darius, it was not till many years after the death of Cyrus that he obtained absolute possession of that throne, when about sixty-two years of age, in B.C. 493.

[1] Josephus con. Apion, l. 20. [2] Herod. iii, 150.

BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS,

Registered at Warka, Babylon, and other Cities, and arranged according to

B.C.	PERSIA.		THE CANON OF PTOLEMY.					BABYLON.	
555	Cyrus	5	....	....	....	....	——	....	1 Nabonidus
554	,,	6	....	....	....	....	——	....	2 ,,
553	,,	7	....	....	....	....	——	....	3 ,,
552	,,	8	....	....	....	....	——	....	4 ,,
551	,,	9	Warka	22 Tammuz	5 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	5 ,,
550	,,	10	....	....	....	....	——	....	6 ,,
549	,,	11	....	....	7 Nabonidochus		——	....	7 ,,
548	,,	12	Warka	28 Sebat			King of Babylon	....	8 ,,
547	,,	13	,,	28 ,,	9 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	9 ,,
			,,	6 Sebat	9 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	
546	,,	14	....	....	....	....	——	....	10 ,,
545	,,	15	....	....	....	....	——	....	11 ,,
544	,,	16	Warka	7 Elul	12 Nabonidochus		King of Babylon	...	12 ,,
543	,,	17	,,	— Veadar	,, [Nabonidochus]		King of Babylon	....	13 ,,
542	,,	18	,,	20 Elul	14 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	14 ,,
541	,,	19	,,	— Nisan	15 Nabonidochus		King of Babylon	....	15 ,,
540	,,	20	,,	6 & 8 Nisan	16 Nabonidochus		King of Babylon	....	16 ,,
			,,	6 Elul	16 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	
539	AT BABYLON.		,,	10 Sebat	16 Nabonidus		King of Babylon	....	17 ,,
538	1 Cyrus	21	,,	— Adar	16 Nabonidochus		King of Babylon	....	1 Cyrus

No. 1.—BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS—*continued.*

Registered at Warka, Babylon, and other Cities, and arranged according to the Canon of Ptolemy.

B.C.	PERSIA.				BABYLON.
537	2 Cyrus	22	Warka	24 Elul	2 Cyrus	———	King of Nations	2 Cyrus
536	3 ,,	23	,,	27 Adar	2 Cyrus	———	King of Nations	3 ,,
			,,	28 Adar	2 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	3 ,,
			,,	17 Nisan	3 Cyrus	———	King of Nations	3 ,,
535	4 ,,	24	,,	28 Adar	3=4 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	4 ,,
	,,		,,	18 Sivan	4 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	4 ,,
534	5 ,,	25	,,	23 Samna	5 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	5 ,,
533	6 ,,	26	,,	———	6 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	6 ,,
532	7 ,,	27	,,	9 Ab	7 Cyrus	King of Babylon	King of Nations	7 ,,
531	8 ,,	28	....	....	....	———	....	8 ,,
530	9 ,,	29	....	....	....	———	....	9 ,,
529	1 Cambyses		Warka	10 Jyar	1 Cambyses	King of Babylon	King of Nations	1 Cambyses
528	2 ,,		,,	15 & 24 Sivan	2 Cambyses	King of Babylon	King of Nations	2 ,,
527	3 ,,		,,	24 Nisan	(?) Cambyses	King of Babylon	King of Nations	3 ,,
526	4 ,,		,,	2 Tebet	(?) Cambyses	King of Babylon	King of Nations	4 ,,
525	5 ,,		....	....	....	———	....	5 ,,
524	6 ,,		Warka	10 Kisilu	6 Cambyses[1]	King of Babylon	King of Nations	6 ,,
523	7 ,,		[Babylon	16 July	7 Cambyses	Eclipse at Babylon	B.C. 523]	7 ,,
522	8 ,,		....	....	....	———	....	8 ,,
521	1 Darius		....	....	....	———	....	1 Darius

[1] Dr. Oppert has translated an interesting Tablet relating to the sale of an Egyptian Slave, dated Babylon, 20 Nisan, 6 Cambyses, Revue Archéolgique, Sept. 1866.

No. 1.—BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS—*continued.*

Registered at Warka, Babylon, and other Cities, and arranged according to the Canon of Ptolemy.

B.C.	PERSIA.				BABYLON.						
520	2 Darius			Warka	5 Elul	2 Darius		King of Babylon	King of Nations	2 Darius	
519	3 „			Rabbat	11 Elul	3 Darius		....	King of Nations	3 „	
518	4 „		Ctesias.	Warka	Adar	4 Darius		King of Babylon	King of Nations	4 „	
517	5 Darius		1	....	....	....	....	———	....		
516	6 „		2	....	....	....	....	———	....		
515	7 „		3	Bitpata	1 Nisan	7 Darius		———	King of Nations		
514	8 „		4	....	....	....	....	———	....		
513	9 „		5	....	....	....	....	———	....		
512	10 „		6	Ellanamitu	17 Elul	10 Darius		———	King of Nations		
511	11 „		7	....	....	....	....	———	....		
510	12 „		8	....	....	....	....	———	....		
509	13 „		9	....	....	....	....	———	....		
508	14 „		10	Diblat	7 Kisilu	14 Darius		———	King of Nations		
507	15 „		11	....	....	....	....	———	....		
506	16 „		12	Babylon	9 Sebat	11—12 Darius		King of Babylon	King of Nations	16 „	
505	17[1]	=	[1]13	Karnebo	1 Sivan	17=13 Darius		———	King of Nations	17 „	
504	18 „		14	———	10 Tammuz	18 Darius		———	King of Nations	18 „	
503	19 „		15	....	....	....	....	....	....	19 „	
502	20 „		16	Warka	24 Sivan	20 Darius		King of Babylon	King of Nations	21 „	
501	21 „		17	[Babylon	19 November	20 Darius		Eclipse at Babylon	B.C. 502]	22 „	
500	22 „		18	....	....	....	....	———	....	23 „	
499	23 „		19	....	....	....	....	———	....	24 „	
498	24 „		20	....	....	....	....	———	....	25 „	

No trace of Darius at Warka as king of Babylon for 12 years.

[1] See p. 205.

No. 1.—BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS—*continued.*

Registered at Warka, Babylon, and other Cities, and arranged according to the Canon of Ptolemy.

B.C.	PERSIA.					BABYLON.
497	25 Darius	21	....	....	.... ————	25 Darius
496	26 ,,	22	Warka	10 Tisri	26 Darius King of Babylon King of Nations	26 ,,
495	27 ,,	23	....	....	.... ————	27 ,,
494	28 ,,	24	....	....	.... ————	28 ,,
493	29 ,,	25	....	....	....	29 ,,
492	30 ,,	26	....	....	....	30 ,,
491	31 ,,	27	[Babylon	25 June	31 Darius Eclipse at Babylon B.C. 491].	31 ,,
490	32 ,,	28	....	....	....	32 ,,
489	33 ,,	29	....	....	....	33 ,,
488	34 ,,	30	....	....	....	34 ,,
487	35 ,,	31	Babylon	14 Tammuz	35 Darius King of Babylon King of Nations	35 ,,
486	36 Xerxes		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	36 ,,
485	1 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
484	2 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
483	3 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
482	4 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
481	5 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
480	6 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
479	7 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
478	8 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
477	9 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
476	10 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	
475	11 ,,		....	....	.... ,, ,, ...	

No. 2.

BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS,

Arranged according to

THE RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.

PERSIA.			TABLETS REGISTERED AT WARKA.				BABYLON.	
B.C.	KINGS.						KINGS.	VICEROYS AND USURPERS.
529	1 Cambyses	7	Warka	10 Jyar	1 Cambyses	King of Babylon	Cambyses	1 Nabonidus, viceroy
528	2 „	8	„	15 & 24 Sivan	2 Cambyses	King of Babylon	Cambyses	2 under Cambyses
527	3 „	9	„	24 Nisan	(?) Cambyses	King of Babylon	Cambyses	3 „
526	4 „	10	„	2 Tebet	(?) Cambyses	King of Babylon	Cambyses	4 „
525	5 „	11	„	22 Tammuz	5 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	Nabonidus	5 Cambyses in Egypt
524	6 „	12	Babylon	20 Nisan	6 Cambyses	King of Babylon	Cambyses	6 Cambyses sends home captives from Egypt[1]
523	7 „	13	„	[16 July	7 Cambyses	{Eclipse at Babylon B.C. 523]}	Cambyses	7
522	8 „	14	Warka	28 Sebat	7—8 Nabonidochus	King of Babylon	Nabonidochus	8 in revolt
521	1 Darius	15	„	....	9 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	Nabonidus	9 in revolt
521	1 in revolt	15	„	6 Sebat	9—10 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	Nabonidus	10 in revolt
520	2 in revolt	16	„	5 Elul	2 Darius	King of Babylon	Darius	„ ejects Nabonidus
519	3 in revolt	17	„	....	....	....	....	„ Darius
518	4 in revolt	18	„	5 Adar	3—4 Darius	King of Babylon	Darius	„ Darius
518	4 „		„	7 Elul	12 Nabonidochus	King of Babylon	Nabonidochus	12 ejects Darius
517	5 Darius king	1	„	Veadar	„[Nabonidochus[2]]	King of Babylon	Nabonidochus	13 in revolt
516	6 „	2	„	20 Elul	14 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	Nabonidus	14 in revolt
515	7 „	3	„	Sebat	15 Nabonidochus	King of Babylon	Nabonidochus	15 in revolt
514	8 „	4	„	6 & 8 Nisan	16 Nabonidochus	King of Babylon	Nabonidochus	16 in revolt

[1] Ctesias. [2] G. S.

No. 2.—BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS—*continued.*

Arranged according to the Reckoning of Demetrius.

PERSIA.				TABLETS REGISTERED AT WARKA.				BABYLON.	
B.C.	KINGS.							KINGS.	VICEROYS AND USURPERS.
514	8 Darius	king	4	Warka	6 Elul	16 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	Nabonidus	16 in revolt
513	9	,,	5	,,	10 Sebat	16—17 Nabonidus	King of Babylon	1 Cyrus	17 {Overthrown by Cyrus
512	10	,,	6	,,	24 Elul	2 Cyrus	*King of Nations*	2 Cyrus	Siege
511	11	,,	7	,,	27 Adar	2—3 Cyrus	*King of Nations*	3 Cyrus	of
511	11	,,	7	,,	28 Adar	2—3 Cyrus	King of Babylon	3 Cyrus	Babylon
511	11	,,	7	,,	17 Nisan	3 Cyrus	*King of Nations*	3 Cyrus	by Cyrus
510	12	,,	8	,,	22 Sivan	(?) Cyrus	*King of Nations*	4 Cyrus	{Babylon taken by Cyrus in B.C. 510[2]
510	12	,,	8	,,	28 Adar	3—4 Cyrus	King of Babylon	4 Cyrus	....
510	12	,,	8	,,	18 Sivan	4 Cyrus	King of Babylon	4 Cyrus	....
509	13	,,	9	,,	23 Samna	5 Cyrus	King of Babylon	5 Cyrus	....
508	14	,,	10	,,	——	6 Cyrus	King of Babylon	6 Cyrus	....
507	15	,,	11	,,	9 Ab	7 Cyrus	King of Babylon	7 Cyrus	....
506	16	,,	12	Babylon	9 Sebat	11—12 Darius	King of Babylon	Darius	....
505	17[1]	=	13	....	....	....	——	....	Naditabyrus revolts[3]
504	18	,,	14	....	....	....	——	....	....
503	19	,,	15	....	....	....	——	....	....
502	20	,,	16	Warka	24 Sivan	20 Darius	King of Babylon	Darius	....
501	21	,,	17	....	....	....	——	....	Aracus revolts[2]
500	22	,,	18	....	....	....	——	....	....

[1] See p. 205. [2] Clemens. Alex. Orosius. [3] Behistûn Inscription.

No. 2.—BABYLONIAN TRIBUTE TABLETS—*continued.*

Arranged according to the Reckoning of Demetrius.

B.C.	PERSIA. Kings.	Tablets Registered at Warka.				BABYLON. Kings.	Viceroys and Usurpers.
499	23 Darius king 19	....	....	....	——	....	....
498	24 ,, 20	....	....	....	——	....	....
497	25 ,, 21	....	....	....	——	....	....
496	26 ,, 22	Warka	10 Tisri	26 Darius	King of Babylon	Darius	1 Belshazzar viceroy
495	27 ,, 23	....	....	....	——	....	2 Belshazzar
494	28 ,, 24	....	....	....	——	....	3 Belshazzar revolts[1]
493	29 ,, 25	Babylon	"In that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans			Darius	4 Belshazzar slain
492	30 ,, 26	....	slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom,			....	
491	31 ,, 27	....	being about 62 years old."—Dan. v. 30, 31.			....	
490	32 ,, 28	....	....	....	....	....	
489	33 ,, 29	....	....	....	....	....	
488	34 ,, 30	....	....	....	....	....	
487	35 ,, 31	Babylon	14 Tammuz	35 Darius	....	Darius	
486	36 Xerxes	....	....	....	....	....	
485	,,	....	....	....	....	....	
484	,,	....	....	....	....	....	
483	,,	....	....	....	....	....	
482	,,	....	....	....	....	....	
481	,,	....	....	....	....	....	
480	,,	....	....	....	....	....	

[1] This revolt took place on the sailing of the fleet of *Darius the Mede*, in B.C. 494, to Samos to set up Æaces son of Syloson, deposed by Aristagoras.—Herod. vi, 22—25.

No. 3.

PRINCIPALS AND WITNESSES TO THE TABLETS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE RECKONING OF DEMETRIUS.

	PERSIA.	TABLETS REGISTERED AT WARKA.					BABYLON.
529	1 Cambyses 7	10 Jyar	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina..... sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	... ...	Istar-zir	1 Nabonidus, viceroy
528	2 Cambyses 8	15 Sivan	Bel-basa son of Baniya son of Suha	Dayan-ahi-idina son of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	... ...	Gi-Maruduk son of Ardi-nabu son of Sit-nabu	2 under Cambyses
		28 Sivan	Sarrnu son of Balatsu Sitai-nabu son of Baniya Ussusa son of Baniya son of Suha	... ...	Munazir son of Ili son of Gamilnana Sa-ahi-zi son of Innentabni-uzur son of Gamilnana	Triba son of Nabusi	
527	(?) Cambyses 9	24 Nisan	... ...	... ...	... ...	Sidu-zir ..... son of Bel-sum-uzur son of	3 ,,
526	(?) Cambyses 10	2 Tebet	... ...	... ...	... ...	Samas-sun-uzur son of .....ya, son of Amanu	4 ,,
525	5 ,, 11	22 Tammuz	Bana son of Pala son of Zupebel	Kaptiya son of Belbasu The priest Dayan-ahi-idina son of Kaptiya	Idi-ya son of Maddasu	Ardi-ya son of Bel-ahi-bur	5 Nabonidus Cambyses in Egypt
524	6 Cambyses 12	10 Kisilu	... ...	..... son of Kaptiya Dayan-ahi-idina & [Rimut-nabu] sons of Kaptiya son of	... ...	..... son of Beltiya	6 Cambyses victorious, sends home Amasis as captive
523	7 ,, 13		... ...	Kaptiya	... ...	... ...	7 Nabonidochus
522	8 ,, 14	28 Sebat	... ...	... ...	... ...	Baladu son of Nabu-zir	8 in revolt
		The whole empire of Persia and Media revolts from Cambyses in B.C. 522.—Behistûn Inscription. The Medes regain supremacy over the Persians.—Herod. iii, 65, 126. A period of political trouble lasts for six years. The Babylonians during this trouble prepare themselves for a long siege. Herod. iii. 150.				Kap .... son of Vul-rabi Ziri-yatu son of Samas-igbi son of Sigu-bea Vul-bani-pal son of Ellat-mar Ziriya Vul-idina ..... bel son of Nahid-bel son of Bua ..... son of Hunana Nabu ... son of Balai	
521	1 Darius 15	28 ——	... ...	... ...	... ...	..... ahi-idina son of Ma.....	9 in revolt
521	in revolt	6 Sebat	... ...	Samas-zir-idina son of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	Humeru son of Ahi-unnai	..... son of Nabubaniaki	10 in revolt
520	2 in revolt 16	5 Elul	... ...	... ...	... ...	Sin-iriba son of ..... Dungi son of Belsunu son of Sin-bel ..... Nabu-bal-idina son of Nabu-zir	Darius ejects Nabonidus
519	3 in revolt 17		... ...	... ...	... ...	Ki-anu son of	Darius
518	4 in revolt 18	5 Adar	... ...	... ...	... ...	..... izmi	Darius
518	4 in revolt ,, Death of Cambyses	7 Elul	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni Kaptiya son of Belbasu son of Sintabni	Gamilnana son of Bel-zir-idina son of ..... nana	Bel-imduk servant of Nabu-sar-uzur Nadin son of	12 Nabonidochus ejects Darius on the death of Cambyses
517	5 Darius king I of Persia	Veadar	Bana son of Pala son of Zupebel	Kaptiya son of Belbasu son of Sintabni Dayan-ahi-idina and ..... sons of Kaptiya	... ...	... ...	13 Nabonidochus
516	6 ,, 2	20 Elul	... ...	Kaptiya son of Belbasu son of Sintabni	...zir-iksi son of Mu-[nazir] [Mu]-na-[zir] son of	Nabu-bani-ahi son of .... Samas-bani-uzur son of ...	14 Nabonidus
515	7 ,, 3	17 Sivan	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	

					Zupebel	Sintabni				
						Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	Baladu son of Istarnazir-basa son of Bel-bal-uzur	Ziri-ya son of Nis-nabu son of Sishuti the priest		
514	8	,,	4	Nisan	Bana son of Pala son of Zupebel	Kaptiya son of Belbasu son of Sintabni	... ...	... ...	16 Nabonidochus	
						Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni		The priest of Belbani		
514	8	,,	4	6 Nisan	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	Nergal-idina son of ....ya son of Masdisu (?)	Sula son of Dabiya son of Hunzu	16 Nabonidochus	
							Sirikiti-samas son of Nadina-ahi son of Gamilnana	Kina son of Nabu-ahi-idina		
								Nabu-bani-ahi son of Nabu-zi son of Bel		
								.....ut son of Nabu-bani ... son of Ezir-zabis		
514	8	,,	4	8 Nisan	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina	Nergal-idina son of Ziriya son of Bel-unzu	Kina son of	16 Nabonidochus	
							Sirikiti-samas son of Nadina-ahi son of Gamilnana	Kidinu son of Nabubani-ahi son of Ezir-zabis		
								Nabu-bani-ahi son of Nabuzi son of Bel-gal-mubi		
514	8	,,	4	6 Elul	Bel-uzur son of ..... son of Bel-idina-ahi	Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya	... ...	Zanzira son of Zab	16 Nabonidus	
						Kaptiya son of		Sidu-ahi-idina son of ..... son of Bel-bal-uzur		
						Samas-zir-idina son of Kaptiya				
513	9	,,	5	10 Sebat	... ...	... ...	... ...	Mumu son of Nissu son of Sin-bel-ya	16—17(?) Nabonidus	
								..... son of Istar-nazir	=1 Cyrus	
								.....zikir-iskun son of Vul		
512	10	,,	6	24 Elul	... ...	Samas-zir-idina son of Kaptiya	.....son of Sadunu	... ...	2 Cyrus } King of	
511	11	,,	7	27 Adar	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina son of Kaptiya	Gimil[... son of Nergalli-duppi	Bunene-sar-uzur son of Mukin	2—3 Cyrus } Nations	
511	11	,,	7	28 Adar	... ...	Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni	Maraduk-sum-ibni son of Nabubani-ahi son of Suha	Maruduk-bal-uzur son of Kaptiya son of Sigua	2—3 Cyrus { King of Babylon	
							Maraduk-sum-idina son of Nadin son of Suiti	Ki-Nabu-balad son of Hunsu son of Bel-bal-uzur		
511	11	,,	7	17 Nisan	Samas-ahi-iriba son of Nabu-nu ..... son of Subuttu	Dayan-ahi-idina & Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya	Nadna son of Bani-istar son of Erisiya	Labasi son of Belsunu son of Rab-kah	3 Cyrus { King of Nations	
						Kaptiya son of Bel-basu son of Sintabni				
510	12	,,	8	28 Adar	Bana son of Pala son of Zupebel	Kaptiya son of Belbasu	Maraduk-sum-idina son of Nabu-bani-ahi son of Suha	Anu-zir-esir son of Baniya son of	3—4 Cyrus { King of Babylon	
						Dayan-ahi-idina, Samas-zir-idina, and Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya son of Sintabni		..... son of Nabu-bel-sunu son of Erisiya		
					Nabu-ahi ..... son of Manai	... ...	Ardi-istar Parsu son of Ardi-nana son of Madivul	Masahu-sunu son of Nuha		
								Mumu son of		
								Maraduk-sum-idina son of Basa-maruduk son of Edir		
510	12	,,	8	18 Sivan	... ...	Samas-[zir-idina]	... ...	... ...	4 Cyrus	
509	13	,,	9	23 Samna	Nabu-bani-ahi son of Qebu	... ...	... ...	... ...	5 Cyrus	
508	14	,,	10	———	Maraduk-uzur son of Pala son of Mumatgal	Dayan-ahi-idina son of Kaptiya	... ...	... ...	6 Cyrus } King of Babylon	
507	15	,,	11	9 Ab	... ...	Dayan-ahi idina, Samas-zir-idina, and Rimut-nabu sons of Kaptiya	Sum-nabu son of Absulum son of Usbar	... ...	7 Cyrus	
						Samas-muba son of Nabu-bel-sumi son of Sintabni	Anu-zir-idina son of .... son of Gamilnana			
						Kaptiya son of Belbasu				

No trace of Darius as King of Babylon from Adar 518 to Sebat

After the revolt of the provinces from Cambyses in B.C. 522, the history of the empire of "Persia and Media" becomes extremely intricate, and the narrative of Herodotus, who had evidently lost one of the threads of the history, becomes much confused. We must bear in mind that until towards the end of the reign of Cambyses the empire still remained divided into two, if not into three, separate States. That portion of the empire which comprehended Persia proper, Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt, was subject to Cambyses as supreme over all, and his throne was in Persia: another portion was governed subordinately by Tanyoxarces, or Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, the son of Amytis, reaching from India to Cush, and his throne we know was at Shusan: and a third portion consisting of the territories conquered by Cyrus the Second, son of Cambyses, and son-in-law of Cyaxares, and comprehending the kingdom of Lydia and all Asia Minor, Armenia, and the great province of Media, received by Cyrus as dowry with his wife, was governed by him from his independent throne at Ecbatana. This was the Cyrus known to the Ionians.

Cambyses, we read, in jealousy of his own brother Bardes, or Smerdis, had put him secretly to death, and had also compelled his half-brother Tanyoxarces to drink poison, sending his accuser, Sphendadates, as governor to Bactria or Balk, soon after he had gone down into Egypt in 525. His desire was no doubt to incorporate all the provinces reigned over by his father, Cyrus the First, including those left to Tanyoxarces, under his own sceptre.

In the midst, however, of his reckless and cruel efforts to effect his purpose he was seized with madness, and all the provinces of the empire at once broke into insurrection.

We have seen that in the confusion (ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ, Herod. iii, 150) which followed, the Babylonians, setting the supremacy of both Persians and Medes at nought, secretly prepared to maintain their independence, even to the last extremity: the Magian Smerdis, setting himself up as the son of Cyrus the First, seized upon the throne of Persia: Orǣtes, who had been appointed by Cyrus son of Cambyses governor of Sardis (iii, 120), though not in revolt, gave no

assistance towards reinstating the Persians: and, what is of more importance, and to which I now wish to direct attention, is that in this same period of political confusion (ἐν ταυτῇ τῇ ταραχῇ, iii, 126) the Medes themselves, after long subjection to the Persians, shook off the yoke and regained their former ascendency.

Herodotus clearly states that this change of supremacy from Persians to Medes took place in the reign of Darius (i, 130). The empire was from henceforth the empire of the "Medes and Persians." The anticipated success of this revolt had preyed upon the disordered mind of Cambyses, and his last dying words breathed forth imprecations on the Persians, and especially on the heads of those members of the family of Achæmenes present at his deathbed (iii, 65), if they did not by every means in their power, fair or foul, endeavour to keep down the Medes in subjection. Herodotus seems to have had no very clear conception of the true nature and duration of this political change, which he supposed had been completed by the usurpation of the Median Magus Smerdis (iii, 73), who was put down by Darius, and that it lasted only for seven months after the death of Cambyses, which is indeed true as regards the imperial province of Persia. He seems, however, to express somewhat more than he is able to explain. For it may be observed that up to the end of the reign of Cambyses, that is throughout the wars, with Astyâges, with Crœsus with Babylon, and with Egypt, he uniformly speaks of the power of the Persians as masters of Asia, and of the Medes as under their dominion. With this also agrees the history of Ahasuerus, or Tanyoxarces, his brother, in the Book of Esther, where we read that "the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes were before him" at Shushan, and also "the seven princes of Persia and Media" (Esther i, 3, 14). The Behistûn inscription, also referring to the last years of Cambyses, speaks of the rebellion of "Persia and Media and the other provinces." After the death of Cambyses, however, even till after the battle of Marathon in B.C. 590 (Herod. iii, 104; vi, 9), that is during the naval war between Darius and the Samians, during the events which preceded his war with Athens, and during the

actual invasion of that country, the expression most commonly made use of is the power of "the Medes," and not the Persians. It was "the army of the Medes" (iii, 109) which fought at Marathon, and it was the name of the Medes which then struck terror into the hearts of the Greeks (vi, 112). The Persians did indeed recover their supremacy, but not till after the death of Cyrus, nor till the latter part of the reign of Darius. The fact of this great political change in the Persian empire is frequently referred to by the principal living witness of the day—the prophet Daniel—who was placed in the midst of the revolution at Babylon, and whose testimony cannot be disputed.

In the third year of Belshazzar son of Nabonidus, when Darius was reigning at Shusan (Dan. viii, 8), that is about the year B.C. 494, the vision of the ram with "two horns" is interpreted to Daniel as representing "the kings of Media and Persia." He tells us that "Darius the Median," that is Darius son of Hystaspes, took the kingdom of Babylon on the fall of Belshazzar, in B.C. 493; the very year which followed the sailing of the fleet of *Darius the Mede* to Samos (Herod. vi, 22-25). And he speaks of the division of the territories of Belshazzar between the "Medes and Persians," that is between the two imperial provinces of Media and Persia, the confederacy of Medes and Persians.

But if the Medes were indeed in the ascendant in the empire during the greater part of the reign of Darius in Persia, who, again it may be asked, was the upholder of their supremacy in opposition to the ambitious designs of Darius, and who could compel the submission of the warlike Persians? "Cyrus son of Cambyses the powerful king," well known to the people of Senkereh, as appears from bricks of that city which bear this legend,[1] was as little known to Herodotus as living in the time of Cambyses, as was Tanyoxarces the half-brother of that king. Having wrongly confounded this Cyrus, the son, with Cyrus the father of Cambyses, as pointed out by Ctesias, and having, therefore, already appropriated the warlike acts of the second prince to his grandfather, he was at a loss for a ruler in Media after the time of Cambyses;

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson has deciphered one of these bricks.

and consequently also wrongly assumed that Cambyses had died without male issue. His narrative at this point is misleading and confused. On the death of his uncle and father, Tanyoxarces and Cambyses, the two great divisions of the empire had of right descended to Cyrus grandson of Astyages, in addition to his own conquests in Armenia and Asia Minor. Nevertheless this distinguished prince was then but little known to his late father's subjects in the province of Persia. He could not boast like Darius of his pure Aryan descent, and, with reference to the Median taint in his blood, was known to them only as Cyrus the Mule. His youth had been spent chiefly in the Median court of Astyages. His claim to kingly rank was derived at first rather from his Median ancestry than from his Persian origin. The Medes had selected him as their sovereign as son of Mandane princess of Media, and he had established himself in their hearts by leading them to conquest, while the Persians still acknowledged his father Cambyses as their king. From Lucian and Onesicritus, quoting Persian annals, we have learnt that he was not conscious of the cruelties perpetrated on his friends in Persia during the violent reign of Cambyses, and that he only heard of these atrocities at the time of his approaching death: Xenophon also is precise in stating, that it was not till he was an old man, when his father and mother were both long since dead, that he took a journey into Persia for the seventh time since the beginning of his reign,[1] and there died. In fact, as Cambyses father of Cyrus never reigned in Asia Minor, or over Media proper, except as supreme sovereign of the Persians and Medes, so Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane never reigned in Persia proper, but only as lord paramount over the confederacy of Medes and Persians. He was almost a stranger at Persepolis, where Darius first set up his kingdom, and during the latter part of his reign his habit was to spend seven months of the year at Babylon, three at Susa, and two at Ecbatana in Media: thus treating Persia as a secondary part of his dominions. His name, therefore, is

[1] Μάλα δὴ πρεσβύτης ὢν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ ἀρχῆς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, πάλαι δὴ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ἐτετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ.—Xenophon Cyrop. viii, vii, 1.

not improperly omitted by Herodotus from the consecutive list of kings of the imperial province of Persia. Nevertheless, he was the "great king"[1] who reigned over Babylon for seven years: that king whose memory was cherished, and the mild supremacy of whose dominion was recognised by all the civilised kingdoms of the earth then known to the Asiatic world: the "man more precious than fine gold," even more precious "than the golden wedge of Ophir:" "the anointed of Jehovah." Twenty-nine years in all he sat upon the throne. But only during the last seven years of his life was he "king of Babylon" after the death of his father.

Now the same outline of history may be collected from the Babylonian tablets at Warka, when arranged according to the reckoning of Demetrius, as seen in Tables No. 2 and No. 3.[2] When thus arranged, they spread the reigns of Cambyses, Nabonidus, and Cyrus over just twenty-three years, from B.C. 529 to 507, forming a compact series of documents from year to year almost without break, as might be expected from the orderly mode of packing them in rows described by Mr. Loftus: and the chief feature of this arrangement is, that the reigns of "Cambyses king of Babylon" and "Nabonidus king of Babylon" are thus necessarily made to begin in the same year, B.C. 529, showing that Nabonidus must, according to this view of the history, have acted as the representative of the reigning king of Persia in his tributary province of Babylon. Accordingly it will be observed, in confirmation of this conclusion, that the names of the same three families recur upon almost all the tablets, as having made certain payments to the State, and as having laid by their documents of acquittance in the office at Warka from the first year of the reign of Cambyses, 529, through the reign of Nabonidus, and down to the last year of Cyrus, 507. Thus showing that the same mode of collection and discharge of revenue existed under the last of the Babylonian, and the two first reigns of the Achæmenian dynasty. An entirely different set of individuals appear to have made use of the office both before and after these three reigns, as far as can yet be ascertained from the few remain-

[1] Herod. i, 188. [2] Pp. 213–222.

ing tablets at Warka, dated in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. When the documents are arranged according to the order of the Canon of Ptolemy, the reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyses range over a period of thirty-three years, during twenty-nine of which the same individuals must be supposed to have used this office at Warka, first under a Babylonian, then under a Persian dynasty, which is not so probable: and six broken intervals, during which no tribute-tablets were registered, between the years B.C. 555 and 522 occur in the series, not easily accounted for if the tablets were found as Mr. Loftus describes, and the office was left undisturbed.

Whether the documents are arranged, however, in one order or the other, one thing may be deduced from them as certain, viz., that Darius was unknown at this registration office at Warka as king of Babylon for twelve years after the death of Cambyses, from the month Adar in B.C. 518, down to the month Sebat in the year 506. And it is also certain, that this interval is exactly filled up by the seven last years of Cyrus king of Babylon, ending in 507–6, who was heir to the throne of Cambyses, and the five last years of Nabonidus, who was acting either as viceroy of, or in revolt against Cyrus his lawful king, provided the tablets are arranged according to Demetrius. The tablets from Warka, therefore, as I have said, afford sufficient reason for preferring the arrangement of Demetrius to that of Ptolemy.

It is difficult to define the exact nature of these documents, which are all however connected with payments of money. It has been suggested that they may have formed a species of public currency. Clearly they cannot be considered as merely private documents, owing to the extreme particularity with which the titles of the kings of Babylon and Persia are given, the official character of the attestations attached, and the fact that the same form of document was used in several different cities. On the other hand, the office itself in which they were found at Warka can hardly be looked upon as a public office, considering how few individuals made use of it for the purpose of recording their payments, and from the smallness of the amounts paid. On

the whole, it seems probable that these particular tablets from Warka are attested evidences of payments made into the public Exchequer through the medium of three families, Bana son of Pala, Kaptiya son of Balbasu and his family, and Gamil-nana and his family, living at Warka. The payments I suggest have reference to those duties spoken of in the Book of Ezra (iv, 20) under the terms "toll, tribute, and custom," which were first imposed in the days of the Persian kings. The name of Bana son of Pala appears five times upon the tablets, most commonly in the spring of the year, and on each occasion, according to Mr. Smith's interpretation of the documents, payments are made on his "going." It seems probable, therefore, that the appointment of Bana son of Pala may have been precisely that of the messenger spoken of in the Septuagint translation of Ezra iv, 18, in the words—*Ὁ φορολόγος ὃν ἀπεστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐκλήθη ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ.* Treating the tablets, therefore, as official documents, they tell a history, as I have said, when placed in chronological order in agreement with Demetrius, which may thus be collected.

On the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, aided probably by Nabonidus the conspirator, Nabonidus must have been appointed governor of the province under Cambyses. From B.C. 529 to 525, according to the tablets, Cambyses was recognised at Warka as "king of Babylon, and king of the two nations." In the latter year, Cambyses having carried his army into Egypt to fight with Amasis, Nabonidus is registered in the month Tammuz (July) as "king of Babylon," whether by appointment of Cambyses, or in revolt, does not appear. During 524 and 523 Cambyses, victorious over Egypt, appears again as "king of Babylon and of the two nations," and so remains till 522, the year of general revolt, when Nabonidus at the command of Nergalsharezar (the Rab-mag?) is placed on the throne of Babylon with the title Nabonidochus,[1] and so appears on the register at Warka for the first time.

A sharp contest, we collect from the documents, must then have taken place after the madness of Cambyses for the throne of Babylon, between the rival princes Nabonidochus

[1] See p. 189.

and Darius, the latter of whom became recognised at Warka from the month Elul, B.C. 520 to Adar 518, as "king of Babylon and king of the two nations," clearly in revolt; and this perhaps may be the time referred to by Herodotus, who relates that soon after the death of Cambyses, which he wrongly supposes to have taken place in 522, Darius having besieged the city for twenty months, and taken it by the stratagem of Zopyrus, entirely destroyed the place as a fortress, throwing down the walls and carrying away the gates (Herod. iii, 159). This, however, is one of the points upon which Ctesias contradicts Herodotus, telling us that he was quite mistaken concerning the acts attributed to Zopyrus during the siege, which he places in the reign of Xerxes, not in the reign of Darius (Ctæsiæ Frag. Müll. p. 50). Both historians I believe to be partly right and both partly wrong. For the final destruction of Babylon did indeed take place at the time when Darius son of Hystaspes was "set over the realm of the Chaldeans." But that we know was not till he was about sixty-two years old, in the year B.C. 493: just seven years before the time when Ezra tells us that Darius and Arta-Xerxes (that is Xerxes under the assumed title of Artaxerxes), were associated on the respective thrones of Babylon and Persia, four years after the Battle of Marathon (Herod. vii, 1, 2). So that both Darius and Xerxes were engaged in the final destruction of Babylon, just twenty-five years later than Herodotus supposed. For he was quite unconscious of the fact disclosed by the tablets, that Darius was not known as king of Babylon for twelve years after the death of Cambyses. Darius, we know from his own inscription, had many battles to fight after B.C. 518, before he became undisputed king of Babylon.

The accompanying Table No. 4 (p. 232), drawn up from the foregoing data, forms, as I conceive, a correct outline of Asiatic chronology for one hundred years, from B.C. 585 to 484, that is from the fall of the Assyrian empire to the death of Darius: and I once more invite particular attention to the two cardinal points of the arrangement, viz.—First, that Darius son of Hystaspes died at the age of 72, in the year B.C. 485-4; whereby we know that Cyrus father of Cambyses

ceased to reign in B.C. 536. Second, that the last carrying away of captives from Jerusalem in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar fell in the year B.C. 559; whereby we know that Cyrus son of Cambyses did not cease to reign till the year B.C. 507–6.

Let us now pass on to the consideration of the two leading propositions which form the subject of this treatise; first, however, making a few remarks upon the unusual and truly unjudicial manner in which the history of Cyrus has hitherto been handled. A number of first-class witnesses offer their testimony for consideration. We have several accomplished Greeks before us, such as Æschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, who came in contact with the Persians in Asia Minor and elsewhere before the time of Alexander, and were more or less accurately acquainted with Persian history; and several Greek and Persian historians after the conquest of all Asia by Alexander, who made Asiatic history their study, such as Dinon, Cleitarchus, Onesicritus, Megasthenes: besides Berosus the Chaldean priest, and above all Daniel and Ezra, living in Babylon and writing during the very time in question.

Now no such historians ever sat down seriously to record as fact what they knew to be untrue. However much they may have been deceived, they have endeavoured to relate events as they believed them to have occurred, and they are entitled to be heard. It is most unreasonable, when pointed out that Ctesias contradicts Herodotus on several important points of Persian history, complacently to set aside his testimony with the remark, that the authority of Ctesias carries little weight as compared with that of Herodotus: when Xenophon, after careful inquiry, relates in a consistent manner a perfectly different story from that of Herodotus concerning Cyrus, to say with Cicero, or Niebuhr, or with Grote, that Xenophon is evidently writing only political romance: that the testimony of Cleitarchus, Onesicritus, and Megasthenes is spurious or untrustworthy: and as regards the invaluable testimony of Daniel and Ezra, that the evidence of the one is either forgery, or history irreconcilable with secular records, and that of the other has been incorrectly copied.

Lastly, we have a flight of witnesses of a later date, of fabulous turn of mind, such as Firdousi, Mirkond, Tabari, Bundari, the writer of the Tarikh Tubree,[1] Persians and Arabians, who tell of chivalric and romantic wars which happened in Mazenderan, Korassan, Azerbijan, and Balk, carried on by heroes of preternatural age. Their standing point as historians is neither Babylon, nor Susa, nor Ecbatana. They speak of conquests beyond the Tigris as conquests in the "west," they tell of wars with China and Tartary; and the original of their histories probably was framed in Balk, or Bactria, or perhaps at Ghuzni in Afghanistan, in the Eastern division of the empire. They have preserved, however, amidst their tales of fancy and romance the chief tradition for which we seek, that is to say, of two separate Persian princes, the one named Kai-Khosru, the other Coresh. They have records of the wars between Kai-Khosru and Afrasiab (Astyages), they speak of Isfundear or Asphanda, or Apanda, his son, a connecting link with Ctesias and Megasthenes, and, what is to the purpose in hand, of the conquest of Babylon by Coresh in the days of Gushtasp, or Darius son of Hystaspes, and of the release of the captive Jews.

Kai-Khosru the great king of Persia, the hero of the Shah-Nameh, is clearly identified with the Cyrus of Herodotus, the father of Cambyses, while Coresh, the name of the prince who was sent to conquer Babylon, is a name which has no affinity with the word Khosru, according to the authority of Sir William Jones,[2] and represents the Coresh of Isaiah and the Book of Ezra.

Let us then endeavour to investigate this intricate matter more in conformity with the practice of an ordinary court of justice, giving to the testimony of each witness the weight due to his position and character, and I think it will be found that there is no justification for so implicitly following the views of Herodotus, who after all honestly informs us that what he relates is only one out of four histories that he had heard concerning Cyrus.

[1] Sir J. Malcolm's Persia.

[2] Sixth Discourse on the Persians; and, Short History of Persia, p. 411.

No. 4.

ASIATIC CHRONOLOGY FROM THE FALL OF ASSYRI

B.C.	Age of Darius son of Hystaspes		PERSIA.			MEDIA.	
585			Eclipse of Thales, battle between the Lydians and Medes			29	Cyaxares I.
584			..	..	..	30	or
583			Nineveh destroyed by Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar			31	Astybares
582			..	..	..	32	or
581			..	..	..	33	Ahasuerus
580			..	..	..	34	,,
579			..	..	..	35	,,
578			..	..	..	36	,,
577			..	..	..	37	,,
576			..	..	..	38	,,
575			..	..	..	39	,,
574			..	..	..	40	,,
573			..	..	..	1	Astyages
572			..	..	..	2	,,
571			..	..	..	3	,,
570			..	..	..	4	,,
569			..	..	..	5	,,
568			..	..	..	6	,,
567			..	..	..	7	,,
566			..	..	..	8	,,
565		1	Cyrus I, the father of Cambyses			9	,,
564		2	,,			10	,,
563		3	,,			11	,,
562		4	,,			12	,,
561		5	,, Cambyses marries Mandane daughter of Astyages			13	,,
560		6	,,			14	,,
559		7	Cyrus conquers Astyages and marries his daughter Amytis			15	,,
558		8	..	..	..	16	,,
557		9	Partial Eclipse of the sun at Larissa, about the time when			17	,,
556		10	the Persians conquered the Medes, 19 May, 557			18	,,
555	1	11	..	..	..	19	,,
554	2	12	..	..	..	20	,,
553	3	13	..	..	..	21	,,
552	4	14	..	..	..	22	,,
551	5	15	..	..	..	23	,,
550	6	16	..	..	..	24	,,
549	7	17	..	..	..	25	,,
548	8	18	..	..	..	26	,,
547	9	19	..	..	..	27	,,
546	10	20	..	..	..	28	,,
545	11	21	..	..	..	29	,,
544	12	22	..	..	..	30	,,
543	13	23	..	..	..	31	,,
542	14	24	..	..	..	32	,,
541	15	25	..	..	..	33	,,
540	16	26	..	..	..	34	,,
539	17	27	..	..	..	35	,,
538	18	28	Cyaxares sat on the throne of his kingdom in his third			1	Cyaxares II.
537	19	29	year (Esth. i, 2, 3) on the death of Cyrus			2	Tanyoxarces.
536	20	30	Cyrus slain in battle at the age of 70. Feast of Ahasuerus			3	Ahasuerus

No. 4.

THE DEATH OF DARIUS SON OF HYSTASPES.

Temple of Jerusalem desolate for fifty years. Jos. con. Apion. i. 21.	BABYLON.	Seventy years of indignation against Jerusalem. Zech. i. 12.	LYDIA.
	Marriage of Astyages with the daughter of Alyattes		21 Alyattes
	.. .. ..		22 ,,
	Fall of Nineveh		23 ,,
	.. .. ..		24 ,,
	1 Nebuchadnezzar		25 ,,
	2 ,,		26 ,,
	3 ,,		27 ,,
	4 ,,		28 ,,
	5 ,,		29 ,,
	6 ,,		30 ,,
	7 ,,		31 ,,
	8 ,,		32 ,,
	9 Captivity of Jehoiakin, or Jechoniah		33 ,,
	10		34 ,,
	11		35 ,,
	12		36 ,,
	13		37 ,,
	14		38 ,,
	15		39 ,,
	16		40 ,,
	17		41 ,,
	18		42 ,,
	19 Destruction of Jerusalem, 5th of Ab.		43 ,,
1	20	1	44 ,,
2	21		45 ,,
3	22		46 ,,
4	23 LAST CARRYING AWAY OF CAPTIVES FROM		47 ,,
5	24 JERUSALEM.—Jerem. lii, 30. Demetrius.[1]		48 ,,
6	25		49 ,,
7	26		50 ,,
8	27		51 ,,
9	28		52 ,,
10	29	10	53 ,,
11	30		54 ,,
12	31		55 ,,
13	32		56 ,,
14	33		57 ,,
15	34		1 Crœsus
16	35		2 ,,
17	36		3 ,,
18	37		4 ,,
19	38		5 ,,
20	39	20	6 ,,
21	40		7 ,,
22	41		8 ,,
23	42		9 ,,
24	43		10 ,,
25	44 Crœsus consults the Oracle of Delphi		11 ,,
26	1 Evilmerodach		12 ,,
27	2 ,,	27	13 ,,

[1] See p. 208.

No. 4.—ASIATIC CHRONOLOGY FROM THE FALL OF ASSYR

B.C.	Age of Darius.	Persia.	Babylon.	Egypt.	Media.
535	21	1 Cambyses according	Cambyses according to Herodotus	Cambyses according to Manetho	4 Cyaxares
534	22	2 ing to Ctesias			5 Cyrus II
533	23	3 ,,			6 ,,
532	24	4 ,,			7 ,,
531	25	5 ,,			8 ,,
530	26	6 ,,			9 ,,
529	27	7 ,,	1 Cambyses	,, 1	10 ,,
528	28	8 ,,	2 ,,	,, 2	11 ,,
527	29	9 ,,	3 ,,	3	12 ,,
526	30	10 ,,	4 ,,	,, 4	13 ,,
525	31	11 ,,	5 ,,	1 Conquers 5	14 ,,
524	32	12 ,,	6 ,,	2 Egypt 6	Cambyses kills his
523	33	13 ,,	7 ,,	3 .. 7	brother Cyaxares or
522	34	14 ,,	8 ,,	4 Apis buried 8	Tanyoxarces
521	35	15 ,,	1 Darius in re-	5 Apis born 9	.. ..
520	36	16 ,,	2 volt, be-	6 1 10	.. ..
519	37	17 ,,	3 comes king	7 2 11	.. ..
518	38	18 ,,	4 of Babylon,	8 3 Death of 12	.. ..
518	38	Smerdis 7 months	of Persia	Cambyses	
517	39	1 Darius	of Egypt	4 Darius 1	.. ..
516	40	2 ,,		5 2	.. ..
515	41	3 ,,		6 3	.. ..
514	42	4 ,,	Apis dies,	7 3m. 5d. 4	.. ..
513	43	5 ,,	4th Darius,	 5	.. ..
512	44	6 ,,	7 years, 3	 6	.. ..
511	45	7 ,,	months, 5	 7	.. ..
510	46	8 ,,	days old	 8	.. ..
509	47	9 ,,	..	.. 9	.. ..
508	48	10 ,,	..	.. 10	.. ..
507	49	11 ,,	..	.. 11	.. ..
506	50	12 ,,	16 Darius king of Babylon, Feb.	12	Death of Cyrus
505	51	13 ,,	17 tablet at Warka	13	.. ..
504	52	14 ,,	18 ..	.. 14	.. ..
503	53	15 ,,	19 ..	.. 15	.. ..
502	54	16 ,,	20 Eclipse at Babylon, 20th Darius		.. ..
501	55	17 ,,	21 19th Nov. 502	17	.. ..
500	56	18 ,,	22 ..	.. 18	.. ..
499	57	19 ,,	23 ..	.. 19	.. ..
498	58	20 ,,	24 ..	.. 20	.. ..
497	59	21 ,,	25 ..	.. 21	.. ..
496	60	22 ,,	26 Darius king of Babylon, Oct.	22	.. ..
495	61	23 ,,	27 tablet at Warka	23	.. ..
494	62	24 ,,	28 ..	.. 24	.. ..
493	63	25 ,,	29 ..	.. 25	.. ..
492	64	26 ,,	30 1 Darius set over the realm of		.. ..
491	65	27 ,,	31 2 the Chaldeans	27	.. ..
490	66	28 ,,	32 3 ..	.. 28	.. ..
489	67	29 ,,	33 4 ..	.. 29	.. ..
488	68	30 ,,	34 5 ..	.. 30	.. ..
487	69	31 ,,	35 6 ..	.. 31	.. ..
486	70	1 Xerxes	36 Temple of Jerusalem finished		.. ..
485	71	2 ,,	in the month Adar 486		.. ..
484	72	3 DEATH OF DARIUS AT THE AGE OF 72.[1]			.. ..

Darius not known at Babylon for 12 years.

[1] Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ θύσας καὶ ἡμέρας νοσήσας λ′, τελευτᾷ, ζήσας μὲν οβ′, βασιλεύσας δὲ, ἔτη λά.—Ctesias Mull., p. 49.

THE DEATH OF DARIUS SON OF HYSTASPES—*continued.*

		Babylon.		Lydia.
29	3	Evilmerodach slain by Cyrus son of Cambyses		14 Crœsus
30	1	Nergal-sharezar		1 Cyrus II
31	2	,,		2 ,,
32	3	,,	30	3 ,,
33	4	,,		4 ,,
34		Laborosoarchod reigns 9 months		5 Babylon taken by
35	1	Nabonidus, or Nabonidochus, viceroy of Cambyses		6 Cyrus the 1st
36	2	,, ,,		7 time, B.C. 530
37	3	,, ,,		8 .. ..
38	4	,, ,,		9 .. ..
39	5	,, ,,		10 .. ..
40	6	,, ,,		11 .. ..
41	7	,, ,,	40	12 .. ..
42	8	,, revolts		13 .. ..
43	9	,, ,,		14 .. ..
44	10	,, Darius disputes the throne with Nabonidochus		15 .. ..
45	11	,, ,,		16 .. ..
46	12	,, ,,		17 .. ..
47	13	,, Nabonidus expels Darius		18 .. ..
48	14	,, ,,		19 .. ..
49	15	,, ,,		20 .. ..
50	16	,, ,,		21 .. ..
..	17	Cyrus II conquers Nabonidochus	50	22 .. ..
..	2	Siege of Babylon		23 .. ..
..	3	.. .. ..		24 .. ..
..	4	Babylon taken by Cyrus II		25 Babylon taken by
..	5	.. .. ..		26 Cyrus the 2nd
..	6	.. .. ..		27 time, B.C. 510
..	7	.. .. ..		28 .. ..
..		Darius occupies Babylon on the death of Cyrus II		29 Darius
..		.. .. ..		.. ..
..		Naditabirus revolts, calling himself son of Nabonidus		.. ..
..		.. .. ..	60	.. ..
..		Darius retakes Babylon the first time		.. ..
..		.. .. ..		.. ..
..		.. .. ..		.. ..
..		.. .. ..		.. ..
..		Aracus revolts, calling himself son of Nabonidus		.. ..
..		.. ..		.. ..
..		Darius retakes Babylon the second time		.. ..
..		Belshazzar son of Nabonidus viceroy		.. ..
..		Belshazzar revolts		.. ..
..		Death of Balshazzar. Darius takes the kingdom,	70	Babylon taken by
..	1	being about 62 years old.—Dan. v, 31		Darius the last
..	2	.. .. ..		time, B.C. 493
..	3	.. .. ..		.. ..
..	4	.. .. ..		.. ..
..	5	.. .. ..		.. ..
..	6	.. .. ..		.. ..
..		Darius and Arta-Xerxes		.. ..
..		,, ,,		.. ..
..		,, ,,		.. ..

Seventy years of indignation against Jerusalem

1. Cyrus the father of Cambyses who conquered Astyages king of Media in B.C. 559, and founded the empire of the Persians and Medes, neither conquered Babylon nor reigned at Babylon before Cambyses took that throne in B.C. 529.

This proposition is not difficult to prove, and it has in fact already been disposed of. The testimony of Herodotus, though full of inconsistency, has proved itself invaluable concerning it. We have seen how the fact recorded by him of the death of Cyrus, father of that Cambyses who conquered Egypt, when Darius was twenty years old, in B.C. 536, brings into harmony all the different versions of the history of this period, thereby proving itself to be correct. And this one fact is decisive against the idea, that Cyrus I. reigned over Babylon from B.C. 538 to 529, as assumed by Ptolemy, and taken for granted in our Bibles. Herodotus goes on to say that it was Cyrus son of that Cambyses who married Mandane who conquered Babylon. Here again he has undoubtedly stated the truth. For this Cyrus was commonly known to the Persians as Cyrus the Mule. He is so spoken of by Nebuchadnezzar in his last words to the Babylonians when approaching his death.[1] The Delphic Oracle, when consulted by Crœsus, warned him against a mule that would come to the head of affairs in the kingdom of Media. And he is again so referred to after his death by the Babylonians (Herod. iii, 150), who, when scoffing at Darius who had besieged their city for twenty months, exclaimed, "When mules bring forth then may Babylon be taken." Now Cyrus the Mule was so called as being the son of Cambyses the Persian, and grandson of Astyages the Mede. Herodotus writes concerning Cyrus the Mule: *ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη, παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς, καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου* (i, 111). Nothing can be more complete and correct. He here relates that Cyrus, who he afterwards tells us conquered Crœsus and overthrew Babylon, was son of Cambyses son of Cyrus. Cyrus son of Cambyses, was not therefore himself the father of Cambyses king of Persia, as Herodotus assumes; unless indeed we are prepared to accept three

[1] See p. 187.

princes of the race of Achæmenes each bearing this same title Cyrus.

Herodotus, who was well acquainted with the exploits of Cyrus son of Cambyses, as the conqueror of Ionia and Lydia and all Asia Minor, and recognised no other king bearing this title, now unfortunately adds that it was he who conquered his grandfather Astyages, in the year B.C. 559, according to his reckoning: thus producing great confusion in chronology. For we have already shown how impossible it is to believe that Cyrus father of Cambyses, born in B.C. 605, should have been the grandson of Astyages who married in the year of the eclipse B.C. 585, while yet a young man: for his father Cyaxares was still on the throne at the time of the marriage. Xenophon altogether repudiates the idea of Cyrus son of Mandane having conquered his grandfather, with whom he tells us that he lived in perfect harmony to the end of his life. While Ctesias, who knew the history of Persia from the royal records, points out this statement of Herodotus as one of the chief errors with which his history of Cyrus is chargeable, protesting that Cyrus who conquered Astyages was in no way related to him. Again, Herodotus tells us that Cyrus who conquered Astyages was reigning over the Medes when Crœsus sent to Delphi to inquire whether he should avenge the cause of his brother-in-law Astyages. The reply was—"When a mule shall reign in Media, then, tender Lydian, flee to pebbly Hæmus, nor blush to be a coward." Cyrus who conquered Astyages, therefore, was an earlier king than he who was called the Mule, and overthrew the kingdom of Crœsus. Again, Cyrus father of Cambyses died on the field of battle, and his body was left unburied. Justin remarks concerning this battle, "etiam illud memorabile fuit, quòd ne nuntius quidam tantæ cladis superfuit" (Justin. i, 8). Cyrus son of Cambyses was buried at Pasargadæ, where Arrian reports that his tomb was found with this inscription on it: "I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, who acquired empire for the Persians, and reigned over Asia. Grudge me not this monument."[1] This

[1] Ἐγω Κῦρος ἐιμι ὁ Καμβύσου, ὁ τὴν αρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησάμενος, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας, μή ὀῦν φθονήσης μοι τοῦ μνήματος (vi, 19). The words Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, with which Arrian begins the epitaph, and which spoil it, I take to be merely a translation of the determinative sign placed before the name of a person in cuneiform writing.

epitaph seems to me to be full of meaning and character. Cyrus died while on a casual visit to Persepolis, in his old age, and his natural desire was to be laid in the royal burial place of Persia near at hand. He was however mindful of the hatred which the Persians bore to the Medes, and how, as of Median descent, he had favoured the re-establishment of Median ascendancy in the empire, in opposition to their present local king. There is therefore a deprecating tone about the epitaph, unlike the lofty tone of a monarch of such absolute power. He pleads as it were with the Persians that he is the son of Cambyses the late powerful king of Persia, and though not the immediate ruler of their province, that it was he who added Asia, that is Asia Minor, to the empire (Herod. i, 177). Do not, therefore, dishonour my tomb. Sir R. K. Porter has, in his "Travels in Georgia and Persia," given accurate drawings of this tomb of Cyrus, still extant at Murghâb, and of a marble block near at hand, upon which a cherubic figure with four wings is carved. Both Porter and Ritter have remarked upon the Egyptian character of the sculpture, and Professor Lassen has from this circumstance and others argued that this could not be the tomb of Cyrus who died before Cambyses had conquered Egypt, and that probably it was the tomb of Cyrus son of Parysatis, of a much later date. Such an assumption is however quite unnecessary, when Cyrus son of Cambyses takes his true position in history after the conquest of Egypt. Once more, Xenophon assures us that Cyrus who conquered Babylon was not recognised as king of Babylon at the time of the conquest, but merely as leader of the armies of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, and his father king of Persia.

There can be no question, therefore, that Herodotus was in error, and confounding together two different kings, when he stated that Cyrus son of Cambyses who conquered Babylon, was he who conquered Astyages. And we may also safely decide that Cyrus father of Cambyses, who really performed that exploit, neither conquered Babylon, nor reigned at Babylon before his son Cambyses came to the throne of that kingdom in B.C. 529.

We now dismiss Herodotus as a witness, regretting only

that he has not given us the means of judging for ourselves concerning the other three histories of this prince which he had seen; and take up Ctesias, who for seventeen years remained in Persia as physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and searched the royal records with the object of ascertaining the truth. Now, if we have rightly divined the true order of events as they occurred in Persia proper, Ctesias would find no mention in the chronicles at Persepolis of the exploits of any son of Cambyses seated on that imperial throne: for clearly Cambyses was immediately succeeded in Persia by Darius in B.C. 517, as if he had no son. While on the other hand he must have found a full description in those chronicles of the wars between Cyrus father of Cambyses and Astyages, the same description probably as that which has been preserved by Nicolaus of Damascus, and must also have ascertained from thence that no relationship whatever existed between the Persian and the Median king. Again, he could not fail to have seen the "book of records of the chronicles" kept at Susa:[1] and there he must have read of that king called Achshurus, or Oxarces, or Axares, who reigned from India to Cush, and who was sitting on the throne of Susa some forty years after the carrying away of captive Jews from Jerusalem in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is in B.C. 573, and of whom Xenophon speaks as ruling over the confederate kingdom of the Medes, when Crœsus fell in B.C. 535. Now all this is exactly what Ctesias tells us that he did find written in the records of the kings of Persia. We believe his testimony, and see no ground whatever for doubting whether he has told the truth. Moreover it must be observed, that not one word could Ctesias find in those archives concerning the one great event which marks the century, the fall of the kingdom of Babylon before the Persians under Cyrus, in connexion with that Cyrus king of Persia who preceded Cambyses who conquered Egypt. Again, we conclude with certainty that Cyrus father of Cambyses, who conquered Astyages, neither conquered Babylon nor reigned at Babylon before Cambyses took that throne in B.C. 529. The only point upon which I would venture to call in question the authority

[1] Esther vi, 1.

of Ctesias is where he relates that the same Cyrus who conquered Astyages also conquered Crœsus. Ctesias, like Herodotus and other Greeks, knew but of one Cyrus king of Persia—and yet at the same time he could not doubt that Crœsus had been deposed by Cyrus. Now Cyrus father of Cambyses died in B.C. 536, and Crœsus was deposed by Cyrus son of Cambyses in 535 or 534. This confounding together of the acts of the two kings is not therefore unnatural. Cyrus the father of Cambyses, however, never reigned over Lydia. Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon countenance this opinion. And the Delphic Oracle decides the question by coupling Cyrus the Mule with the conquest of Lydia.

I now proceed to establish the second proposition:—

II. That Cyrus son of Cambyses, grandson of Astyages, twice conquered Babylon: but did not take the title "king of Babylon" till after the death of his father in B.C. 518.

Xenophon is the true biographer of this illustrious prince. He tells us that he writes concerning him only such things as he believes that he has fully ascertained. And I think that there is much want of judicial faculty in those who pronounce his work to be a fiction, simply because he differs entirely from Herodotus as to the true place of the reign of this prince in history. Like Herodotus and Ctesias he appears to have recognised only one king bearing the title Cyrus, which necessarily leads him into some slight error. He was probably thereby perplexed as regards chronology, and therefore gives no dates. But this is a deficiency which is supplied with certainty from other sources. For the reign of Cambyses is securely fixed by an eclipse in his 7th year.[1] And the entire conformity of his narrative with the chronology so ascertained, is the best proof of the care and accuracy with which he has applied himself to his subject. Cyrus he tells us was at the head of but a small band of Persians when the Medes and Hyrcanians chose him as their leader. He subdued the Syrians, Assyrians, Arabians, Cappadocians, both the Phrygians, Lydians, Carians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians. He had in subjection also the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians, as also the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and Maga-

[1] See p. 201.

EMPIRE OF CYRUS 2ND SON OF CAMBYSES B.C. 515. ACCORDING TO XENOPHON.

Opposite page 241

dinians, and other nations too many to name. He ruled over the Greeks in Asia, and over the Cyprians and Egyptians by the way of the sea. "His kingdom was bounded on the east by the Erythræan Sea: on the north by the Euxine: on the west by Cyprus and Egypt: on the south by Ethiopia."[1]

The father of Cyrus, he tells us, was Cambyses king of Persia: and all agree that his mother was Mandane daughter of Astyages king of the Medes.[2] When Astyages died, in the year B.C. 539-8, Cyaxares the brother of Mandane came to the throne of the Medes. This is the same prince that Ctesias speaks of as the son of Amytis sister of Mandane: and of whom the Book of Esther speaks under the title Achshurus or Ahasuerus. No sooner was he seated on the throne than the king of Babylon, that is to say Evilmerodach, who came to the throne in 538, joined in confederacy with Crœsus to deprive him of the province of the Medes, and Cyrus father of Cambyses having been slain in his expedition against the Massagetæ in 536, Cyrus son of Cambyses, now 25 years of age, was chosen by the Medes as their leader; a strong body of Persians sent by Cambyses, now king of Persia, joined the army, and the first battle with Crœsus was fought on the plains of Pteria, in the summer of 535, in which the king of Babylon was slain (Cyrop. iv, i. 8). No one can fail to observe the remarkable agreement in all particulars of this piece of history with the foregoing table of chronology. Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, sits on the throne of his kingdom in the third year after the death of Astyages his father-in-law, and immediately after the death of his father Cyrus, in 536. Cambyses begins his reign in 535. The last year of Evilmerodach according to Demetrius is 535, and the last year of Crœsus according to the reckoning of the Parian

[1] Ὅτι μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ ἡ τοῦ Κύρου βασιλεία ἐγένετο, αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ μαρτυρεῖ. Ὡρίσθε μὲν πρὸς ἕω τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Κύπρῳ καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπίᾳ.—Κυρου Παιδ. viii.

[2] Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ γέγεται ὁ Κῦρος γενεσθαι Καμβύσου, Περσῶν βασιλέως, μητρὸς ὁμολογειται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι, ἡ δὲ Μανδάνη ἦυτη Αστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ.—Κυρου Παίδ. i, 2.

Chronicle is 535, and this is the third year after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, who foretold the coming of the Persian Mule, in conformity with the response of the Delphic Oracle, given three years before the fall of Crœsus.

Thus far it would be difficult to discover the evidence of fiction in the narrative of Xenophon; unless it may be thought fictitious to have made Abradates king of Susa in 535, when Ahasuerus it may be supposed was on that throne. But it may be observed that Abradates was slain in the autumn of this same year 535, and if Ahasuerus or Cyaxares after his death immediately seated himself on the throne at Susa, it may have been within the third year after the death of Astyages. Xenophon goes on to say that Cyrus, following up his victory over Crœsus, fought a second battle with him before the winter of 535, and took the city Sardis. Abradates was slain, and Crœsus was made prisoner. We may now compare the narrative of Xenophon with that of Herodotus, in which both agree, showing that much time was consumed in the conquest of the several provinces of Asia Minor and the settlement of their affairs, so that Cyrus might not be prepared to march towards Babylon, the taking of which was his next great exploit, till probably about the spring of the year B.C. 532, or perhaps 531. Herodotus describes that much time was wasted at the river Gyndes, and both agree that the Babylonians resisted the attack for a great length of time. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the city was not taken by the stratagem of drawing off the waters of the river Euphrates till the year B.C. 530. Meanwhile we learn from Berosus that Nereglissar or Nergal-sharezar occupied the throne of Babylon for four years, and that he then set up Laborosoarchod son of Evilmerodach, a youth who only occupied the throne nine months, that is till the close of 530. Berosus does not mention the siege of Babylon by Cyrus at this time, but merely says that the young king was slain by conspirators. Nabonidus he says was one of the conspirators, and Gobryas we know, who had fled from the tyranny of Nergalsharezar, and Gadatas, were two others. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that it was with the connivance of these conspirators that the gates towards

the river had been left open and unguarded, and that Cyrus having so taken the city, the king that was then slain by Gobryas and Gadatas was Laborosoarchod (Cyrop. vii, v, 33).

Cyrus while in Babylon set up satraps and governors in all the conquered nations, amongst whom we may assume that Nabonidus the conspirator, who, as Berosus observes, was in no way entitled to the throne, though evidently an able man, was made governor under Cambyses in B.C. 529. Soon after this he married the daughter of Cyaxares, receiving with her as dowry the revenues of Media: and then prepared to make a journey into Persia to pay his obeisance to his father Cambyses, and to lead back the Persian army. On the frontier of Persia he left the greater part of his victorious army, and with filial reverence presented himself to his father, bringing presents suitable to his sovereignty, and also for the nobility of Persia. And now a striking scene takes place in the court of Persia, which is worthy of great attention, and a speech is put into the mouth of Cambyses which evidently is intended to embody the ideas of Xenophon as to the relative positions of the kingdoms of Persia and Media at that time, and showing how the two great divisions of the empire made by Cyrus the father of Cambyses at his death were still retained in the reign of his son Cambyses. A great meeting of elders and governors holding the highest offices in the state having been called together by the king, and Cyrus having been invited to be present, Cambyses is said thus to have addressed the assembly: "Men of Persia, and you O Cyrus, I feel a just affection for you both. You Persians are my subjects, and you Cyrus are my son. It is right that I should open my mind to you plainly as to what appears to me best suited for the welfare of you both. With regard to the past, you Persians have greatly promoted the interests of Cyrus by giving him an army and by appointing him its commander, while Cyrus, making the best use of his command, hath, with the assistance of the gods, made your name famous among all men, and honoured throughout Asia. The most worthy of those who have fought with him he has enriched. He has provided pay and maintenance for the soldiers, and by the establishment of a Persian cavalry

hath given to the Persians a share in the command of the plains. Now, if you will continue to recognise these facts, you will become sources of many benefits to each other. On the other hand, if you Cyrus, elated by present prosperity, should attempt to rule the Persians like other nations, merely for the sake of gain, or you citizens, grudging him his power, should endeavour to destroy his authority, be assured that you will be a hindrance to each other of many blessings. That such may never be the case, and that good fortune may attend you, it seems to me, he said, that you should enter into covenant with sacrifice, and calling the gods to witness should engage, on your part Cyrus, that if any one should make war on the Persian territory, or attempt to subvert the Persian laws, you with your whole force will come to their assistance, and that you Persians on your side, if any one attempt to deprive Cyrus of his authority, or if any of those under his power should seek to revolt, you will render such assistance in defence of yourselves and Cyrus as he shall demand. As long as I live the sovereignty over the Persians is mine. When I am dead it will no doubt belong to Cyrus, if he is alive." (*καὶ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶ, ἐμὴ γίγνηται ἡ ἐν Πέρσαις, βασιλεία· ὅταν δὲ ἐγὼ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὅτι Κύρου, ἐὰν ζῇ* (viiii, v, 26).

I have given the whole of this scene and speech at length, because I look upon the passage as vividly descriptive of the actual state of the Persian empire under the reign of Cambyses, and as in fact containing a summary of all for which I am contending concerning Cyrus. Xenophon here brings before us the noble, lofty character described by the prophet Isaiah, truly more precious than fine gold. Unconquered in battle, he comes from Babylon, where lately he had been dispensing kingdoms and satrapies freely amongst his friends. The whole of Asia is as much lying at his feet as when in later days it fell prostrate before the conqueror at Arbela. In generous confidence he halts his army, flushed with victory, on the frontier, and presents himself unguarded before his father, to tell him, we assume, how the mighty empire of Babylon has fallen and become annexed to his dominions. In this very year, B.C. 529, I have said that

Babylon first recognised a Persian king: and that Cyrus the conqueror, of the elder branch of the Achæmenedæ, renowned through east and west, then reigned in Media and Asia Minor, not at Babylon, and collaterally with one or other of the kings of Persia proper. And so Xenophon, by the mouth of Cambyses, here relates. It was probably at the time of this solemn league and covenant referred to by Xenophon, that it was determined that the laws of the Medes and Persians should not be altered, that is to say, that the Medes should not attempt to force their laws upon the Persians, nor the Persians theirs upon the Medes. I have said, that Cyrus king of Persia reigned after, not before, his father over Babylon. And from the speech of Cambyses we learn that at the taking of Babylon he was lord supreme, and Cyrus neither "king of Persia" nor yet lord over "all the kingdoms of the earth." Indeed the one thing upon which Cambyses his father was resolved was, that he should not so be styled till after his own death. No one, I repeat, is justified in setting down this narrative as fiction, simply because it is irreconcilable with Herodotus. On the contrary I maintain that it is stamped with truth upon its face.

There is only one questionable statement in the Cyropædia which requires a few words of observation. Xenophon, as I have said, recognised only one Cyrus king of Persia: and yet he was correctly informed that Cyrus father of Cambyses had divided his kingdom between his two sons Cambyses and Tanaoxares, as Ctesias attests. He could therefore only conclude that Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane, the hero of his history, had two sons so called on whom his empire devolved. Regardless therefore of chronology, into which it seems it was not his disposition to enter, he hastily assumed the existence of a prince named Cambyses king of Persia, who was the son of Cyrus king of Persia, who was the successor of Cambyses king of Persia who reigned over Babylon, who again was the son of Cyrus. In this unquestionably he was in error. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell upon the subject. For clearly he has mistaken the children of that Cyrus, who was not in any way related by birth to Astyages, for the children of Cyrus the grandson of Astyages.

Thus far as regards Persian history as given by Greek historians before the conquest of Asia by the Greeks. I am satisfied that these historians have all honestly related what they believed to be true: that, together with Lucian in after days, they have all fallen into discrepancies by confounding the acts of two kings in the history of one: and the result I think of a fair examination of their combined testimony is to show, that there was a Cyrus son of Cambyses who reigned after the death of Cambyses king of Persia in B.C. 518, and that this Cyrus for a time must have reigned collaterally with Darius son of Hystaspes. Also that he took Babylon for the first time in B.C. 530.

Let us next examine the testimony of writers under the reign of the Greeks in Asia, after the conquest of Asia by Alexander.

We have already seen (p. 189) from Megasthenes, who was held in high esteem in the Court of Seleucus Nicator, one of the generals of Alexander, how when Cyrus had conquered Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, and had given him a principality in Carmania, Darius was the king who drove him from thence: thus connecting together the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, in confirmation of what has been deduced from Xenophon and Lucian. Again, in after days, we find Josephus, with the histories of Megasthenes, Berosus, Diocles, and Philostratus before him (Ant. x, xi, 1, 2), when speaking of this same Nabonidus, whom he there calls Naboandelus, writes, "against him did Cyrus king of Persia and Darius king of Media make war."

Josephus, not knowing how to apply this historical fact in conformity with his incorrect notions of Babylonian history, endeavours to explain it away by saying that this Darius was known by another name amongst the Greeks. This necessity for explanation, however, only makes it more certain, that he had found it stated in the histories which he had consulted that Darius and Cyrus were contemporaries.

There is another passage attributed to Megasthenes, which, if genuine, testifies very directly to this fact. It has been copied unfortunately by some illiterate interpreter of the history, who has largely interpolated his own imperfect ideas concerning the Babylonian kings, and owing to these

interpolations the passage has generally been rejected as spurious and worthless. It is found in a work entitled "Antiquitatum Variarum Volumina XVII," published at Venice in 1498, and commented on by Annius Viterbensis. When purified from extraneous matter it probably ran thus:—

Speaking of Belochus, prefect of the army of Sardanapalus, it says—"This man conspired with Arbaces, who was the king of the Medes, and the monarchy was divided, on condition that Belochus should reign over Babylon and Arbaces over Media and Persia. Thus was the monarchy divided, Sardanapalus having been killed by throwing himself into the flames. These kings reigned over the Medes for 304 years.

Ctesias	28	"Arbaces	28"			
	50	"Mandauces	50"			
	30	"Sosarmon	30"			
		"Articarmin" ..	30[1]			
		"Abianes"	13[2]	53 Deioces		Herodotus.
Ctesias	40	"Artens	40"	22 Phraortes ..		
	22	"Artines	22"	40 Cyaxares I ..		
	40	"Astybares" ..	[40	35 Astyages ..		
		Astyages] "with his son Apanda"	20"	15 Cyaxares II ..		Xenophon.
		"Apanda alone" ..	30"			
			303			

	yrs.	m.
"He being dethroned, Cyrus and Darius reigned	36"	
"The son of Darius, Artaxerxes	20"	
"His two sons Artabanes and Darius Longimanus contended 7 months for the kingdom.		7"
"In the 7th month Longimanus prevailed and reigned	37"	
"His son Darius Nothus	19"	
"Artaxerxes Darius Mnemon	46"	
"Artaxerxes Ochus	21"	
"Arees, in our own times	4"	
"Darius	6"	
"Alexander [the Great], who transferred the kingdom to the Greeks. Seleucus Nicator who is now fulfilling the 30th year of his reign over all Asia and Syria"	12"	
	201	7

The above passage, together with its foolish interpolations, as given at length in the Appendix,[3] has been copied and commented upon by the notorious monk Annius as if the

[1] Eusebius. [2] Jornandes. [3] P. 262.

whole had been originally written by Megasthenes. When freed from the additions, it states, that from the death of Sardanapalus[1] in B.C. 824 to the reign of Darius in B.C. 521, inclusive, was 304 years, and that at that time the confederacy between the Medes and Babylonians was broken up, that is after the insanity of Cambyses. And this I take to be the truth. Megasthenes then goes on to say, that Darius and Cyrus reigned 36 years. He does not of course advance the absurdity that both kings reigned 36 years in conjunction. But he does mean to say, clearly, that from the dethronement of Aspanda in B.C. 522 to the beginning of the reign of Xerxes in B.C. 485 comprised the 36 years reign of Darius, during some part of which Cyrus reigned. The interpreter, however, has misunderstood the meaning, and made the reign of Cyrus reach to the time of Xerxes. I will not dwell upon this passage, but leave it to be taken for what it is worth. The work of Megasthenes is lost. I will merely observe that the passage has been quoted by Pope Sixtus Senensis in proof that Darius and Cyrus were contemporary:[2] and that when we consider that the contents relating to these two kings are in harmony with the undoubtedly genuine passage from Megasthenes quoted by Abydenus (p. 189), I think these traces of his writings are sufficient to show that he reckoned Cyrus and Darius to have been contemporary kings. That they were indeed contemporary, is proved beyond all question (p. 192) by the chief living witness of the day, Daniel, who, writing in the third year of Cyrus (x, 1) speaks of Darius the Mede as already on the throne (xi, 1).[3]

Berosus, writing soon after Megasthenes, tells us that Cyrus conquered Nabonidus in his seventeenth year: and also that from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the seventeenth year of Nabonidus was 68 years. Now we gather nothing from these facts, as quoted by Josephus, towards

[1] See Chronological Appendix to Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 366.

[2] Rainaldus de Libris Apocryphis, I, p. 767.

[3] I take this opportunity of withdrawing an erroneous suggestion which I lately made when greatly perplexed by this xth of Daniel, viz., that the first verse of this chapter was probably an interpolated heading by some later hand than Daniel's See Messiah the Prince, p. lxii.

solution of the question between Ptolemy the astronomer and Demetrius the historian, whether the reign of Cyrus in Babylon took place before, or after Cambyses: or as to the seven years reign of Cyrus over Babylon having fallen within the time of the reign of Darius in Persia. If with Ptolemy we place the first of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 604, Cyrus must have begun to reign in Babylon 68 years later, in B.C. 536, as commonly supposed, and have taken that city for the first time in that year. If with Demetrius we place the first year of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 581, then must Cyrus have conquered Nabonidus in B.C. 513, and have taken Babylon for the *second* time somewhere about this year. Fortunately the date of Ptolemy may be tested by the sure touchstone of a total solar eclipse well known in history. For Abydenus, who also copied from the history of Berosus, tells us that Nebuchadnezzar began his 43 years' reign at Babylon after the fall of Nineveh, when Saracus, the successor of Sardanapalus, put himself to death.[1]

Now most historians have seen the necessity of placing the fall of Nineveh after the date of the total eclipse of the sun, which terminated the battle between Cyaxares king of Media and Alyattes king of Lydia, and there are only three total eclipses about the period which can possibly be taken into consideration in connexion with this event, viz., the eclipses of B.C. 610, 603, and 585. The eclipse of B.C. 603 may be excluded, as according to the best modern tables its shadow passed over or near the Persian Gulf. The eclipse of B.C. 610 stands a few years earlier than the common date of the fall of Nineveh, B.C. 606, or 608, and the eclipse of B.C. 585 two years earlier than the proposed date, derived through Demetrius B.C. 583. Now all ancient authority places the date of this eclipse in B.C. 585, and modern astronomy has decided that the only eclipse whose shadow could have passed over Asia Minor about the time was that of B.C. 585.

Nineveh fell therefore soon after B.C. 585: Nebuchadnezzar began to reign after the fall of Nineveh, in accordance with

[1] It will be observed that Sardanapalus burnt himself to death in B.C. 824, according to Ctesias and Megasthenes. It was Saracus, the successor of Nabopalassar who was also called Sardanapalus, who burnt himself to death in B.C. 583.

Demetrius, and not with Ptolemy: and Babylon must have been taken a second time by Cyrus about the year 513.

Those who adopt the earlier date are sorely pressed to find room for the twenty-eight years' rule of the Scythians over Nineveh after delivering the Assyrians from the hands of Cyaxares, and also for the reign of Nitocris over Babylon before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

We now come down to witnesses of a later date. Clement of Alexandria is a very important witness. In his Miscellanies he writes—"From the First Olympiad to the building of Rome some writers say that there are twenty-four years. From thence about 243 years to the overthrow of Babylon (*ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος ἀναιρέσιν*). And from the overthrow of Babylon to the death of Alexander 186 years."[1] The dates are B.C. 776, 752, and B.C. 509–10 for the taking of Babylon, that is by Cyrus.

Orosius, writing in the days of St. Augustin, writes—"Babylon for the last time was overthrown by king Cyrus, at the time when Rome for the first time was freed from the tyranny of the Tarquin kings. As if under one and the same dispensation of the times and seasons, the one had fallen as the other rose. The one for the first time was then subject to the dominion of foreigners, when the other for the first time spurned the pride of her native rulers. The one as it were expiring then laid aside the heirship, the other at the same time, in the prime of youth, began to recognise herself as heir. Then fell the empire of the East. Then arose the empire of the West."[2] Now Eusebius, in his Chronological Canon, writes—In the 240th year of the building of Rome, in the Sixty-seventh Olympiad, in the *ninth year of Darius*, "the seven kings, beginning with Romulus, and ending with Tarquinius, from thenceforth ceased," that is in B.C. 512.

The latest author that I will quote is the Mohamedan writer Tabari, who died in the year A.D. 921. He speaks of "Kai-Khosrou (Cyrus) king of Persia, who, having appointed Lohrasp (Cambyses) his successor, suddenly disappeared, so that no trace of him could ever be discovered. Lohrasp

[1] Clemens. Alex. Strom. 1. [2] P. Orosius con. Paganos, ii, 2, p. 74.

resided at Balk, and placed Nabuchodonosor (Nabonidus) as governor in Babylon. On the death of Lohrasp he was succeeded by Gouschtasp (Darius Hystaspes). Gouschtasp being displeased on hearing that Syria and Palestine were oppressed, and Jerusalem desolate and in ruins, sent his general Kouresch, who was governor of 'Irâq, to Babylon, and ordered him to take Nabuchodonosor, or Nabonidus, and send him to Balk, and at the same time to send back the children of Israel to Jerusalem. Kouresch did as he was commanded, and then took the government of Babylon as well as 'Irâq,"[1] that is in the reign of Darius.

In connexion with this same scheme of reckoning, Abulpharagius, who was born in A.D. 1226, and who searched the archives of the city Margan in Armenia, and extracted many things from Syriac, Saracenic, and Persian books which he considered worthy to be preserved from oblivion, writes—"In the days of Herod our Redeemer was born: and the seven, together with the sixty and two weeks of Daniel, were completed, which together make 483 years, to be computed from the sixth year of Darius son of Hystaspes." Thus Darius the Mede of Daniel is identified with the son of Hystaspes, and if we place the birth of Christ in the autumn of B.C. 3, and add 483+6=489 years to that date, we arrive at the year 492, as "the first year of Darius son of Ahasuerus, when set over the realm of the Chaldeans."

Who can doubt, after this combination of evidence, that the true outline of this period of Persian history, as understood in the East and recorded in oriental records, and entertained also by Greeks after the time of Ctesias, was in conformity with the narrative of Xenophon rather than with that of Herodotus, with the reckoning of Demetrius rather than with that of Ptolemy: and that till after the death of Cyrus the Persian empire had remained divided into two imperial and confederate kingdoms, as stated by Ctesias, as confirmed by the Babylonian tablets in the words "king of the two nations," and by the Behistûn Inscription which speaks of "Persia and Media, and the dependent provinces." When these corrections are applied to sacred chronology, which has

[1] Zotenberg's translation of Tabari, pp. 474, 495.

hitherto been based upon the erroneous date B.C. 538 for the 1st of Cyrus, each event will have to be brought down just 25 years, and the result, as I have elsewhere partly shown, will be as follows:—[1]

	COMMON DATE.		ALTERED DATE.	DIFFERENCE.
The 49th year of Uzziah king of Judah = 10th year of Menahem king of Israel, will be lowered from .. .. in conformity with the total solar eclipse B.C. 763 recorded at Nineveh.	B.C. 762	to	B.C. 737	25
The carrying away of the ten tribes by Shalmanezer, in conformity with the record of extant tombstones in the Crimea, from	721	„	696	„
The threatened attack upon Jerusalem by Sennacherib in the 14th year of Hezekiah, the date of which is determined by the solar eclipse at Jerusalem B.C. 689, causing the shadow to return on the dial of Ahaz, from	714	„	689	„
The first year of Nebuchadnezzar falling after the total solar eclipse of B.C. 585, from	606	„	581	„
The destruction of Jerusalem, from	588	„	563	„
The first year of Cyrus, fifty years after the destruction as stated by Josephus, from	538	„	513	„
The first year of Darius as set over the kingdom of Babylon, seventy years after the destruction, when 62 years old, and "Seventy Weeks" before the birth of Christ, from	517	„	492	„

I will now close this part of the subject with a few remarks on the questionable dates in the Canon of Ptolemy. From whence, I ask, did Ptolemy obtain his dates for the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonadius, and Cyrus: and upon what authority has he ventured to place Cyrus on the throne of Babylon before Cambyses? Not on the authority of recorded eclipses at Babylon: for he has referred to no eclipses on record between the years B.C. 621 and 523: and three solar eclipses, as above, the dates and paths of which are now laid down by astronomers with almost perfect accuracy, stand recorded against him as making his arrangement of the reigns quite irreconcilable with astronomy. Not on the authority of Herodotus: for the date of the death of Cyrus father of Cambyses is accurately fixed by him as falling in B.C. 536. Not on the authority of Ctesias: for Ctesias found no record

[1] See Preface to Messiah the Prince, p. viii.

in the archives of the imperial province of Persia of Babylon ever having been taken by Cyrus father of Cambyses. Not, again, on the authority of Xenophon: for Xenophon distinctly says that Cambyses was king of the empire of Persia when Babylon was taken, and that Cyrus did not take the kingdom till after his death; while Babylonian records testify that Cambyses reigned at Babylon from B.C. 529 to 523. Was, then, his authority for the dates attached to these three reigns drawn from Chaldean sources? Certainly not. For the evidence of Megasthenes we have seen tends to place Cyrus on the throne of Babylon in the time of Darius, and the dates drawn from Berosus are controlled by the Eclipse of Thales, to the same effect. Besides which, Josephus, with these two historians before him, tells of "Cyrus and Darius" coming together against Babylon. Ptolemy has probably taken Polyhistor as his authority: who, after quoting Berosus from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar downwards to the conquest of Nabonidus by Cyrus, adds—"Cyrus reigned in Babylon nine years. He then died in battle on the plains of Daas. After him reigned Cambyses eight years, and then Darius thirty-six years, after whom came Xerxes and the other Persian kings" (Euseb. Auch., p. 22). The latter words, however, are not the words of Berosus, for they are not found in either of the quotations by Josephus from this writer, that is, neither in his treatise against Apion, nor in his Antiquities. They can only be taken as representing the particular view of the history entertained by Polyhistor. Ptolemy's purpose was astronomical, not historical: not to construct an historical catalogue of kings founded upon astronomical data recorded in their reigns, but rather an astronomical register or manual for his own daily use, in which eclipses recorded in history were arranged according to the current catalogue of reigns. And it was a matter of little importance to his purpose whether Cambyses came to the throne of Babylon before or after Cyrus, so long as nothing interfered with the correctness of the intervals between the several celestial observations. The discovery of this manual has been a misfortune to history. But the record of eclipses which occurred in certain reigns preserved

in the Almagest, disconnected from this astronomical manual, is of inestimable value.

It now remains for me to make a few remarks on the history of the third great character connected with the religious movement of the century, viz., Darius son of Hystaspes, in whose reign the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem was restored, after seventy years' abeyance, and the re-establishment of his worship proclaimed throughout the Persian empire. The military exploits of this ambitious and unscrupulous prince are recorded by himself on the rock at Behistûn, and from thence we learn how great were the difficulties he had to contend with, and how many were the battles which he fought before he gained entire supremacy in the empire. We have already seen that the reign of Darius was divided into two very distinct parts: the first comprehending fifteen years, from B.C. 521 to 506, during which he maintained his position as king of the federal province of Persia, and as sole monarch of the kingdom of Egypt and other dependencies previously held by his predecessor Cambyses, being styled on the tribute tablets "King of the Nations," that is as one of the kings of the two confederate nations of Medes and Persians: the second period, comprising twenty-one years, from 506 to 485, beginning after the death of Cyrus, during which the whole of the provinces of the empire became gradually united under his sole sceptre. At this time Daniel, portraying the actual state of the Persian empire under the symbol of a ram with two horns, pushing westward, and northward, and southward, tells us that the horn of the ram which came up last, that is Persia, had become higher than the horn of Media (Dan. viii, 3). Darius was now recognised on the tablets as "King of Babylon, King of the Nations," and was also known by the title "King of Assyria" (Ezra vi, 22).

Now, these two divisions of his reign are also prominently marked in the inscription on the rock, in these words[1]:—

"This is what I did before I became king."
"This is what I did after I became king."

[1] Journ. R. Asiatic Soc., Vol. x, Part i, pp. 28, 29.

We read in this inscription that the first of these periods commenced not long after Cambyses had gone down into Egypt, when "Persia and Media and the other provinces" revolted and went over to Gomates the Magian: how Darius immediately proceeded to recover the crown which had thus been wrested from the family of the Achæmenidæ by the Medes: and how he laboured till he had firmly established his family as in the days of old. It must be observed, however, that Darius, with some set purpose, carefully abstains in the inscription from affixing to the events of his reign any regnal dates: and in the obscurity thus designedly thrown upon the history he not only covers the treachery of his revolt against his master during the last three years of the life of Cambyses, but also succeeds in bridging over those twelve years, from 518 to 506, during which he was effectually excluded from Babylon, where for a time he had established himself, without confessing his defeat. During this first period of his reign it may be inferred that the following inscription must have been written at Persepolis; for being unable as yet to style himself "great king, king of kings," as usual upon his other monuments, Darius here limits himself to the title king of "this province of Persia." The inscription, as translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, runs nearly thus:—

"The great Ormazd who is chief of the gods, he established Darius as king. He bestowed on him the kingdom. By the grace of Ormazd Darius is king. This province of Persia which Ormazd has granted to me"————"from the enemy feareth not,"————"May Ormazd protect this province from slavery, (that is, may it never fall under the dominion of the Medes), from decrepitude, and from lying",[1] (that is from the false doctrines of the Magi introduced by Gomates and propagated by the Medes). This one tablet affords sufficient evidence that Darius did not, as Herodotus supposes, at once take the throne of the whole empire on the death of Cambyses.

At the commencement of the second period in B.C. 506, after the death of Cyrus, when Darius assumed supremacy over both divisions of the empire, Media and Persia, a

[1] Jour. R. A. Soc., Vol. x, Part. iii, p. 272.

general outbreak of the provinces appears to have taken place. Babylon, Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Satagydia, and Sacia, refused to acknowledge his authority. All these countries, however, after a series of engagements, were successfully brought into subjection, and the whole empire was at length divided into twenty or twenty-two satrapies. About the year B.C. 501, it appears from Herodotus, that the provinces of Asia Minor which had remained tranquil for twenty-nine years during the whole reign of Cyrus, revolted under the leadership of Aristagoras, and Sardis was burnt. These events are not recorded on the rock. From which we may assume that the inscription was set up immediately after the putting down of Aracus at Babylon, and certainly before the revolt of Belshazzar, who we know from Daniel reigned at Babylon at least three years till the time of his fall in B.C. 493.

Such is an epitome of the military acts of Darius for twenty years, as recorded by himself on the rock, in which he has skilfully avoided all that was unfavourable for his own renown: Darius was, however, not only a great military commander, but a sagacious politician. Cyrus, as I have said, who from his position on the throne of Media, came in contact with the Magian reformers, and from his connexion with Cyaxares the husband of 'Atossa, or Hadassah, had imbibed deep religious impressions from the dispersed people of Jehovah, and especially from the great prophet just released by him from Babylon, had in B.C. 513, set up the standard of Jehovah, proclaiming that Jehovah the God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth. Under this invincible banner he had rallied around him all the chief leaders of the reformation, which was now rapidly spreading throughout his eastern provinces, and thus secure in the affections of the Medes, and in the favour of heaven, he retained his supremacy undisturbed till the end of his life. Darius also, if we may trust to Megasthenes, Josephus, and Tabari, would seem for a moment to have co-operated with Cyrus in this movement till his enemy Nabonidus of Babylon had been brought into subjection in 513. If so, however, he soon found occasion to change his policy. The strength

of his position also lay in the religious prejudices of the opposite party; and it was by upholding old superstitions, and by setting his face against religious innovations, that he succeeded in holding Egypt in tranquillity for many years, and in fixing himself firmly on the throne of Persia, where everything proceeding from the Medes was opposed with extreme jealousy. Accordingly we find his inscriptions overloaded with praise and adoration of Ormazd: and as if in defiance of Jehovah, and also of Cyrus with his Median extraction, he proclaims at Alwand, and Nakhsh-i-Rustam—"The great god Ormazd (he it was) who gave this earth, who gave that heaven, who gave mankind, who gave life to mankind, who made Darius king, as well the king of the people as the lawgiver of the people. I am Darius the king, the great king, the king of all inhabited countries"——"the son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, and of Arian descent."[1] Such was his manifesto between the years 506 and 500, after the death of Cyrus. Nevertheless he was fighting against the sure progress of enlightenment and truth, and it was not long before he found himself carried away in the irresistible stream of reformation which at length prevailed throughout both divisions of the empire, Media and Persia. Meanwhile the ambition of Darius was to become possessed of the whole empire which had been ruled over by Cyrus the Mule, who had died without issue. Bardes was dead, and Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus, was dead. The legal succession to the throne had become vested in Hadassah his widow, a Hebrew lady descended from the royal house of Kish. Cambyses when he slew his half brother Tanyoxarces or Ahasuerus, had taken queen ʿAtossa to wife. And this alliance had been considered of so much political importance that the Magi had been consulted concerning its legality. On the death of Cambyses Darius also married queen ʿAtossa, or Esther, not the daughter of Cyrus the elder, as Herodotus affirms, but his daughter-in-law. Through her he became entitled to call himself "son of Ahasuerus," that is, in eastern phrase, representative of the house of Ahasuerus, "of the seed of the

[1] Journal R. A. Soc., Vol. x, Part iii, p. 291.

Medes." Of 'Atossa was born Xerxes, to whom the throne descended, and this name is also identified with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Ezra (iv, 6). So that this title ran through three successive generations. Thus Hebrew influences and Median influences crept gradually over the mind of Darius, till about ten years after his proclamation of devotion to Ormazd, when the kingdom of Babylon having been finally subdued, the venerable Hebrew prophet, now about 96 years old, became his chief minister of the State. Under his powerful influence, and at the request of the Jews at Jerusalem, in the second year of his reign over Babylon B.C. 491, the decree of Cyrus, directing that the temple of Jerusalem should be built, which had been in abeyance for about twenty years, was sought for and carried into effect. The crisis had now arrived. The final decree went forth:—"Let the work of the house of God alone: let the governor of the Jews, and the elders of the Jews build their house of God in his place." (Ezra vi, 7.) "And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered, through the prophecying of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo: and they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Arta-Xerxes king of Persia. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king" (Ezra vi, 14, 15), in B.C. 486.

About this same time the final act of triumph of the worship of Jehovah was being carried out at the seat of the government of Darius, either at Susa or Babylon, where under the wise direction of Daniel, "It pleased Darius (not Cyaxares or Astyages as absurdly believed) to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes" (Dan. vi, 1). This change of policy with regard to the government of the empire, by substituting 120 principalities for 20 satrapies, is referred to by Herodotus as taking place not long before the battle of Marathon (Herod. vi, 43), and is spoken of by Mr. Grote as "a complete reversal of the former policy of Persia, to be ascribed to a new conviction, doubtless wise and well founded, which had recently grown up among the

Persian leaders, that on the whole their unpopularity was aggravated more than their strength was increased by employing despots as instruments."[1] The princes of the empire however were greatly incensed against the new minister of State. They sought to destroy Daniel, and failed. "Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth. Peace be multiplied unto you. I make a decree—That in every dominion of my kingdom, men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end" (Dan. vi, 25, 26).

Thus was the spiritual drama of the century completed. A Hebrew youth of royal extraction, born about the year of the eclipse in B.C. 585, of genius and bearing fitted to stand in the presence of kings, had been carried captive to Babylon, the seat of all idolatry, at the age of about 12 or 13 years. Endowed with surpassing wisdom and virtue, he had become ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors of all the wise men. Constant in faith to Jehovah he had swayed the mind and counsels of the Babylonian king, till at length the stubborn will of this idolatrous prince bowed down before the Most High, and he "praised and honoured him who liveth for ever." He continued, we are told, to remain at Babylon "until the first year of king Cyrus, B.C. 513: when again under his prevailing influence the proclamation of Cyrus came forth, to rebuild the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. And yet once more, before the expiration of the century, we read of his final triumph over the princes of Persia in connection with the proclamation of Darius that "men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel." The people of Jehovah had gone forth from their inheritance in adversity, and were scattered like salt over the countries beyond the Euphrates: they returned into possession of their inheritance in the year of jubilee, B.C. 492, to cleanse their sanctuary, having reaped the harvest of the East.

Lastly, there is yet one difficulty which requires further explanation, concerning which I must be brief for want of

[1] Grote's History of Greece, Vol. iii, p. 269.

space. Manetho and Egyptian monuments all give 36 years to the reign of Darius: and yet, as I have shown from the Apis tablets (pp. 203, 204), Darius could not have reigned more than 31 years after the death of Cambyses. So that the end of the reign of Cambyses in Egypt and the beginning of the reign of Darius in Egypt overlapped. Again, I have shown that the first year of Darius as set over the realm of the Chaldeans, was B.C. 492, and yet before that year, we read in Ezra that Ahasuerus, or Xerxes, also called Arta-Xerxes, had obstructed the building of the temple of Jerusalem. So that the reign of Xerxes in conjunction with his father Darius must have commenced many years before the death of Darius in B.C. 484. It is usual to meet this difficulty in Ezra by identifying Ahasuerus with Cambyses, and Arta-Xerxes with Smerdis. But this is manifestly absurd. The difficulty appears to be solved by two Egyptian monuments on the rock at Hamamat, fac-similes of which are annexed, with a translation by Dr. Birch, who as early as the year 1857 pointed out the peculiarity of the inscriptions,[1] which run thus:—

A.

1. The year 6 of the lord of the two countries Kenbuta (Cambyses).
2. The year 36 of the lord of the two countries Ntariusha [Darius].
3. The year 12 of the lord of the two countries Khsharsha [Xerxes] made by the Sares of the land of Pers [Persia] Ataiuhai before Men [the god Amen Horus] who is over the district.

B.

1. The 36th year of the good god lord of the two countries, son of the Sun, lord of diadems Ntariusha [Darius] *living like the Sun for ever.*
2. The 13th year of his son the lord of the two countries, son of the Sun, lord of diadems, Khshaiursha [Xerxes] *living like the Sun for ever!*
3. Made by the Sares of Pers [Persia], duke or lord of Kabt [Coptos].
4. Ataiuhai.

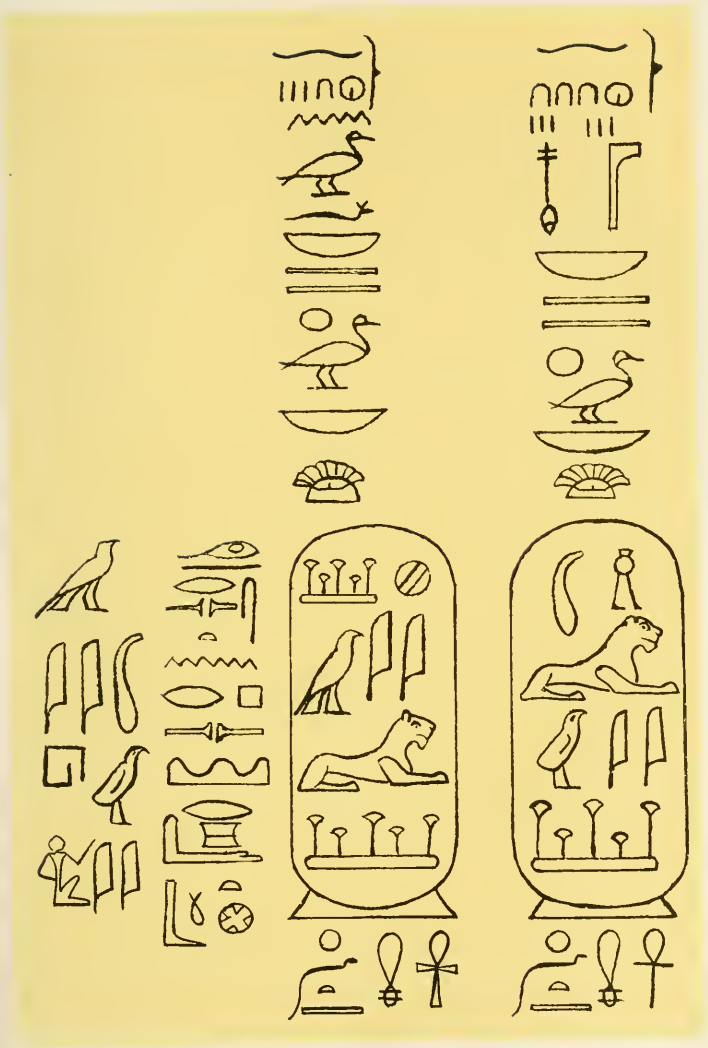
From the second of these monuments it appears that the 13th year of the reign of Xerxes in Egypt was concurrent with the 36th of Darius, both kings being yet alive in B.C. 484. So that Xerxes must have been sent into Egypt by his father as "lord of the two countries, son of the Sun," as early as B.C. 497, that is when about 20 years of age, in the twenty-

[1] See Loftus' Chaldea and Susiana, p. 412.

face page 260.

1 Fuss Rhnl.

Rock Inscription from Hamamat.



½ Fuss Rhnl:

Rock Inscription from Hamamat.

first year after the marriage of Darius with his mother 'Atossa in the year 517; and if Palestine also came under the jurisdiction of Xerxes as neighbouring on Egypt, it becomes perfectly intelligible how an order from Ahasuerus, or Arta-Xerxes, to discontinue the building of the temple at Jerusalem (Ezra iv), issued from Egypt, might have been reversed by Darius after he had become king of Babylon, say, in the year B.C. 487, as clearly related in the Book of Ezra.

Thus the second of these monuments affords the proper means of interpreting the nature of the first, from which it appears that the latter part of the 12th year of Xerxes in Egypt was concurrent with the beginning of the 36th of Darius, B.C. 486–5: and since 6 years of Cambyses added to 7 months of Smerdis, and 36 of Darius, would lead up to B.C. 528 for the conquest of Egypt, which is untrue, this tablet intends to explain that the 1st year of Darius in Egypt commenced during the six years' reign of Cambyses in that province. Ataiuhai, therefore, represents on this monument, that he was appointed duke or prefect in the 1st year of Cambyses, B.C. 525, and so continued till the close of the 36th of Darius 484, in all forty-one years.

In conclusion, I submit that I have shown—

1st. That Cyrus, father of Cambyses, who conquered Astyages, neither conquered Babylon, nor reigned at Babylon, as set forth in the Canon of Ptolemy.

2nd. That Cyrus, son of Cambyses king of Persia, and grandson of Astyages, twice conquered Babylon, but did not assume the title king of Babylon till after his father's death, in B.C. 518.

3rd. That Ptolemy's Canon rests upon no sound authority, either historical or astronomical, when placing the reign of Cyrus at Babylon before the reign of Cambyses.

4th. That the alternative reckoning of these two reigns derived from Demetrius is to be preferred to that of Ptolemy, as supported by the dates of three solar eclipses.

5th. That Ptolemy's date, B.C. 538, is truly the date of the year following the death of Astyages, who is erroneously supposed to have been succeeded by Cyrus.

6th. That the date of the proclamation of Cyrus in the first year of his reign as king of Babylon, is the year B.C. 513.

Appendix.

Antiquitatum Variarum Volumina XVII.
A venerando et sacræ theologiæ, et
prædicatorii ordinis, professore,
Jo. Annio hac serie declarata.

"Belochus tertius, princeps militiæ Sardanapali. Prodito domino suo Sardanapalo, partita est cum Medis monarchia, ut Metasthenes enarrat, dicens de eodem proditore——

"Is cum Arbace tum Medorum principe conspiravit, et partita est monarchia ea lege, ut Belochus Babyloniam, Arbaces Mediam et Persas regeret. Itaque interfecto, et ex ipso flammis injecto Sardanapalo, monarchia bipartita fuit. Apud Medos in eâ hi regnaverunt annis quatuor et trecentis.

Arbaces	annis 28	Arceus	annis 40
Mandanes	50	Artines	22
Sosarmon	30	Astybares cum Apanda filio..	20
Arti-Carmin	50		
Arbianes	22	Apanda solus	30

Hoc devicto, Cyrus et Darius regnaverunt Annis triginta sex."

[*Nam ante reunitam monarchiam regnaverunt in Perside annis sex. Inde aliis sex, Persico regno resignato Cambyse filio, sexennale Tomyre reginâ Scytharum bellum intulerunt. Sexto anno a Babyloniis evocati, atque Baltassare interfecto reunitam monarchiam in Persas transtulerunt. Totidem annis in bipartitâ monarchia regnatum est apud Babilonios.*

Primus Phul Belochus .. annis	48	*Nabugdonosor primus .. annis*	35
Phul Assur	25	*Nabugdonosor magnus .. .*	45
Salmanassar.. .. .	17	*Amilinus Evilmerodach .. .*	30
Assuradan	10	*Filius hujus primus Ragassur*	3
Merodach	52	*Secundus Lab-Assardoch .. .*	6
Ben Merodach .. .	21	*Tertius Baltassar .. .. .*	5

Baltassare interfecto, regnaverunt simul Cyrus et Darius annis duobus et viginti.]

"Filius Darii" [*priscus Artaxerxes Assuerus*] "annis viginti."
[*ultione interea sumptâ de factione Tamyricâ, quæ per dolum patriam tradiderat Tamyræ*]
"Huic duo filii, [*Cyrus*] Artabanes, et [*Darius*] Longimanus septem men-
"sibus pro imperio dimicaverunt, et septimo mense Longimani victoriâ
"cessit, regnavitque annis septem et triginta. Ejus filius Darius Nothos
"annis decem et novem. Magnus Artaxerxes [*Darius*] Mnemon annis
"quinquaginta quinque. Artaxerxes Ochus sex et viginti. Nostrâ ætate
"Arces annis quatuor. Darius ultimus sex. [*Magnus*] Alexandros qui
"transtulit imperium in Græcos annis duodecim. Seleucus Nicanor, qui
"nunc agit tricessimum annum, totius Asiæ et Syriæ."

THE PRIDEAUX PENTATEUCH.

Read 2nd April, 1872.

University Library, Cambridge,
22nd April, 1872.

To the President and Council of the Society of Biblical Archæology, London.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with your request, I have the honour of handing you the accompanying description of the highly valuable MS. presented to you by Capt. Prideaux. Whilst thanking you for your kind attention, I beg leave to express my heartfelt wishes for the prosperity of your excellent Institution.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,
Yours faithfully,
SCHILLER-SZINESSY, Dr.

The MS. is written on a Roll of goat-skins, some of which are dyed yellow, others red, and others again brown (all in various shades), 96 feet long by 1 foot 10 inches broad; consisting of 81 skins, 226 columns, 51 (the later portion 50—52) lines in each column; square character (except the first skin, which throughout has a Rabbinical ש), oriental Sephardic handwriting, ranging from the 10th or 11th century to the 14th or 15th.

[תורת משה]

The Pentateuch; *defective.*

Genesis, col. 1; Exodus, col. 58; Leviticus, col. 106; Numbers, col. 140; Deuteronomy, col. 197.

This Roll, although conforming, on the whole, to the copies ordinarily used by the public readers in the Synagogue, has some peculiarities well worth noticing.

I.

Internal Economy.

(*a*) *General Construction.*

1. Each book commences with a fresh column, the four lines which have to be left between the books being found at the end of a column, in accordance with the original rules of the Babylonian Talmud (Baba bathra, leaf 13[b]). The Jerusalem Talmud (Megillah, section I, Halachah 9) prohibits such an arrangement, and is followed by the French Rabbis in their Additamenta to the Babylonian Talmud (Bab. bath. 13[b] ומיסיים).

2. Each column commences with a fresh verse (except in the two instances of the ה and ו of ביה שמו; see later). This fact, along with the almost uniform number of lines in a column which are found in copies coming from Arabia and the adjacent countries, makes it an easy matter to put together single skins, or even single columns of five, ten, or even more different "Torahs" for the purpose of making them one complete copy. Occasionally, of course, there will be a verse or two too many or too few, as is actually the case here (see later).

3. Between verse and verse there is generally a somewhat wider space left than between word and word.

4. The closed sections (פרשיות סתומות), in the somewhat later portions of this and similar Rolls, never commence on a fresh line, but after at least a word or two of the preceding section, with a sufficient space between. This is one of the means by which the age of an Arabian Roll may be determined, at least negatively.

5. Both Decalogues are so arranged as to place the later negative precepts in the form of אריח על גבי אריח, &c., *i.e.*, the particles are on one side and the verbs on another.

6. Although the rule of ביה שמו is observed, the usage is not that of the Ashkenazic school, where the ש is in Exodus (xxxiv, 11), nor of the ordinary Sephardic school, where it is in Leviticus (xvi, 8), nor as in both these schools, where the מ is in Numbers (xxiv, 5): here both the ש and the מ are in Deuteronomy (the former xvi, 18, and the latter

xxiii, 24). Thus, while in the Ashkenazic school the mnemosynon is represented by two letters in Genesis, two letters in Exodus, one in Numbers, and one in Deuteronomy (Leviticus being without one); and while the ordinary Sephardic school spreads them over all the five books (two in Genesis, one in Exodus, one in Leviticus, one in Numbers, and one in Deuteronomy): the school to which this "Torah" belongs has two in Genesis, one in Exodus, and three in Deuteronomy (Leviticus and Numbers being without one). The methods of these three schools rest on their respective views of the original mode of the delivery of the Pentateuch; but there is little doubt that the view exhibited by this school is the oldest (see Excursus I, in the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. belonging to the University of Cambridge, now in the press). That a Pentateuch Roll should have this mnemosynon at all is in close connexion with Cabbalah (see Excursus VI of the said Catalogue).

(*b*) *Special Construction.*

1. While the letters, on the whole, are the same as in other Rolls with respect to majuscules in certain words, we observe here a few differences. Here is no majuscule ב in בראשית (Gen. i, 1); no majuscule ד in אחד (Deut. vi, 4); no majuscule ל in וישלכם (Deut. xxix, 27); no majuscule נ in נצר (Exod. xxxiv, 7); no majuscule ע in שמע (Deut. vi, 4); no majuscule צ in הצור (Deut. xxxii, 4); no majuscule ר in אחר (Exod. xxxiv, 14): a fact which I have never met with in the many Rolls (more than 200 in number) which I have had the fortune to see. After this I was scarcely surprised to find that the ז in הבזונה (Gen. xxxiv, 31), the ל in והלטאה (Lev. xi, 30), the ס in ויהס (Num. xiii, 30), and the ת in תמים (Deut. xviii, 13), which are given as majuscules only according to some scribes, are not given here as majuscules. Certainly, the ד, ע, and ר mentioned above are somewhat dilated, and it may be that this dilation compensates for a majuscule (see Mass. Sopherim ix, 1, ופשוטין). On the other hand, we find here a majuscule א in אשריך (Deut. xxxiii, 29), no doubt, emphatically thereby to express the blessedness of

Israel in having such a God and such a law. We find a majuscule ס in סֵפֶר (Gen. v, 1), because this verse is viewed by some as one of the most important verses in Holy Writ, containing as it does the foundation of our relation to God and to God's children, without distinction of country or religion.[1] We find a majuscule ק in קֵן (Deut. xxii, 6), as this passage places on an equal footing one of the least important with one of the most important commandments.[2] We find several times the majuscule פ (*i.e.* formed as one פ within another פ; compare the well-known majuscule ף in ובהעטיף, Gen. xxx, 42), to express a high degree of something *e.g.* אלופי the *mighty* princes of .... (Exod. xv, 15), &c. We find a majuscule צ in צֵא (Exod. xi, 8), expressive of the sure expectation of a complete and entire exodus, which was afterwards really accomplished. (For other reasons of majuscules see Excursus I of the mentioned Catalogue.)

2. Whilst I have not been able to discover a single minuscule not to be found anywhere else, I miss the minuscule י in תשי (Deut. xxxii, 18), which is to express that although Israel forgot his Maker he did not forget Him entirely and for ever. I miss the minuscule מ in מוקדה (Lev. vi, 2),

[1] Rabbi 'Aqiba says that "And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Lev. xix, 18), is a most important principle (כלל) in Holy Writ, whereupon Rabbi Simon ben 'Azzai says: "This is the book of the generation of man," is a more important principle in Holy Writ. The explanation is, that whilst the expression "neighbour" might be interpreted to mean only a person of the same country or creed, "man" includes every one created in the image of God. And, indeed, on our childship with reference to God rest even our love to Him who made us, and our duty to sacrifice for His sake even life itself. And so rests also on this fact our duty to love our neighbour, both of us being brothers, both having been created in the same God's image (see Talmud Yerushalmi Nedarim, Section ix, Halachah 4).

[2] "The first commandment with promise," as Paul the Apostle very pithily calls it (Ephes. vi, 2), is, "Honour thy father and thy mother," &c. (Exod. xx, 12; Deut. v, 16); but a similar promise is also given to him who, on finding a bird's nest, should, while taking the young ones, let the dam go free (Deut. xxii, 6, 7). This looks at first sight somewhat strange. On a closer examination, however, these two commandments are seen to stand in close connexion with one another. For He "who makes us wise by the fowls of the air" (Job xxxv, 11), teaches us here also respect to, and affection for, our own parents, by inculcating the avoidance of giving pain to the bird-mother by letting her see her brood killed before her eyes. Compare Lev. xxii, 28, and Talmud Yerushalmi Peah, Section I, Halachah 1; see, however, Mishnah Berachoth, v, 3.

which is to express, that although fire was perpetually kept on the altar, there was only just sufficient kept to maintain it (see, however, Tal. Bab. Yoma 45^{b}). I miss the minuscule מ in ממרים (Deut. ix, 24), which is to express that Israel would not have rebelled but for the mixed multitude (Exod. xii, 38) which caused him to rebel (see, however, Ba'al ha-Turim and Excursus I).

3. The ח in the older portions is not arched; it has, however, a stroke on the upper part at the extreme left. In the younger portions of the MS. it is arched.

4. דרש דרש (Lev. x, 16) stand on one and the same line.

5. דכה (Deut. xxiii, 2) is spelt דכא.

6. Some of the words are defectively spelt instead of *plene*, and *vice versâ* (see *passim*).

(*c*) *Additional Marks.*

1. The ten passages, of which some words, or only letters, are dotted above (the institution of these dots being ascribed to no less an authority than Ezra[1]), conform here entirely to ordinary copies. This being the case, I should have passed the fact over in silence, had it not been for the purpose of removing an apparent contradiction between the statements of the Rabbinical authorities and those of some Massorets in reference to Deut. xxix, 26. But the solution is very simple: the Talmud counts the passages, which are really ten only, while the phrase י"א נקודות does not mean, as has sometimes been supposed, that there are eleven dotted passages, but that at this place there are eleven letters dotted.

2. The letters שעטנזגץ, usually provided with little crowns (תגין) are in the older portions of the Roll without them, while some of the more recent portions have them. Some of these portions have them, however, not only on the above-mentioned letters, but also on במף, which, we may remark, are the remaining letters of מנצפך not included in שעטנזגץ, and which played an important part already

[1] Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan xxxiv, ... אמר עזרא ... עשר נקודות בן יוחאי (Wien, 1815, Folio) by the Massecheth Sopherim vi, 3, &c., and מענה LXXXIX. celebrated R. Moses Kunitzer,

in early Talmudic times (see Tal. Bab. Megillah, leaf 2^b, &c.). In some parts of the Roll the Taggin are also to be found, though only occasionally, even on entire words not consisting of the letters usually crowned. The reason of this curious proceeding is to mark some traditional or cabbalistic saying.[1]

(*d*) *Age and Contents of the MS.*

1. As before stated, the Roll is chiefly composed of single skins (and even single columns) taken from various Rolls belonging to various ages. The largest number of any one class belong to the 13th century, although there are some as old as the 10th or 11th, whilst others are young as the 14th or 15th century.

2. They all read on with the exception of—

(1) Skin 2 (commencing Gen. iii, 22), which overlaps skin 1 (Gen. i, 1 ; iii, 22) by one verse.

(2) Skin 16 (commencing Gen. xl, 4), where two verses are wanting (as skin 15 ends with Gen. xl, 1).

(3) Skin 29 (Exod. xx, 23), where one verse is wanting (as skin 28 ends with xx, 21).

(4) Skin 38, where the last two words of Lev. i, 6, have been lost.

[1] Instances of the like are to be seen in a similar Roll (see Baer, Zwei alte Thora-Rollen .... Frankfurt am Main, 1870, 8vo.) belonging to Mr. Johannes Alt (bookseller, of Frankfort-on-the-Maine), which lies now for inspection in this library. This Roll also came from Arabia, is similarly put together from various independent Rolls, of various ages, and ranging from the 10th century to the 16th or 17th. It has, I feel sure, some portions which were once parts of the Roll described above. Nor must I omit to mention that our own No. 1 (Library-mark, Oo. 1. 3), brought over from India (and presented to the University of Cambridge in 1809 by the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan), in its oldest and youngest portions resembles Capt. Prideaux's Roll. The respective relations of these three Rolls to one another are the following :—

1. The Buchanan Roll in its oldest portion is somewhat younger than the oldest portion of Alt's, and somewhat older than the oldest portion of Capt. Prideaux's, whilst its youngest portion is older than the youngest portion of Alt's and is contemporary with the youngest portions of Capt. Prideaux's.

2. The Buchanan Roll, although written in five different hands, is one original Roll, supplemented by four consecutive Scribes, while Alt's and Capt. Prideaux's (one skin excepted in the latter) are made up from different copies. (See "Age and Contents of the MS.," in this description.)

3. Skin 53 is the only *bonâ fide* supplement, as will be seen from the four lines left blank to meet Skin 54. This state, far from being a disadvantage, is a positive gain, not merely in an antiquarian point of view, but also and chiefly with a view to Biblical criticism, as one gets an insight thereby not merely into the character, construction, and peculiarities of one Roll, but of several Rolls at the same time.

II.

External Economy.

(*a*) *Influence of later hands on this MS.*

1. Various parts of this Roll have been re-touched, and in one part (Skin 23) the ordinary ח has been changed throughout into an arched one.

2. The older portions of this MS. present a singularly spotted appearance, which, at first sight, one would be inclined to attribute to natural causes, partly to the brittleness of the material, partly to long usage, and partly to the ever-busy bookworm. Such, however, is not the case. It is simply the work of the Readers, who, by removing with a sharp instrument a portion of the surface of the skin, provided themselves with marks for verses (where the space left was not sufficient guide for them), for half-verses, for attention to weak letters, and finally for the sub-division of the weekly portion into seven parts (ז׳ קרואים). The former three they marked by . and the last by ∴ or •:•[1]. In the younger portions this is more systematically, and I may say artistically, executed, by means of impressing a watch-key or a pencil-case wherever and whenever required. These apparently unimportant facts lead us to understand several passages in the Talmud and the Codificators, which

[1] When I came more closely to examine the above-mentioned Buchanan Roll, for the purpose of describing it in the Catalogue, my attention was drawn by the eminent bibliographer Mr. H. Bradshaw (Librarian of the University and my Teacher in Bibliography), to the systematic recurrence of these spots, which we soon found to be regular markers of verses, half-verses, &c. Subsequently I found the same in Alt's Roll in the same way, only with the addition, that in its younger portions the system had been more artistically carried out, just as is the case in this Roll.

would otherwise remain unintelligible (see Massecheth Sopherim iii, 7; Beth Yoseph on Tur Yoreh De'ah, cclxxiv, and Shulchan 'Aruch Yoreh De'ah cclxxiv, § 7).

(*b*) *Condition of the MS.*

1. The Roll is in various places damaged, particularly col. 141, which has suffered from fire.

2. The writing is, in most columns, easily legible; but in such skins as are dyed a dark brown it is somewhat difficult to decipher.

3. Although, as will be seen from various skins, the original sewing had been done with the prescribed thread made of the sinews of clean animals (תפירת גידין), at present a good many skins and single columns are connected only by common blue cotton thread.

4. The columns originally left blank for the rollers have now disappeared, not so entirely, however, as to leave no trace of their former existence.

These observations are the result of a few hours' examination of this very valuable MS., which, I doubt not, will, on a closer inspection, offer more points of interest and information. Let me add in conclusion the wish, as I hold the hope, that this Roll may help to deepen the conviction, which both sincere Jews and Christians entertain, that the variants to be found in the MSS. of the Mosaic Records refer only to minor points. They can never alter any doctrine necessary for man's salvation; for, indeed:

"The law of the Eternal is perfect, refreshing the soul.

"The testimony of the Eternal is faithful, making wise the simple.

"The statutes of the Eternal are right, rejoicing the heart.

"The commandment of the Eternal is pure, enlightening the eyes." (Psalm xix, 8, 9.)

*** For Hebrew Scribe's directions, see Simon's Biblia Hebraica (Halle, 1767). *Exercit. Not. Margin. Mazoret.*—S. M. Drach.

A FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT ASSYRIAN MYTHOLOGY.

By H. F. Talbot, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Read 2nd April, 1872.

In plate 4 of the last published volume of British Museum Inscriptions there is a very curious account of the early life of the first Sargina.

It seems probable that there was an ancient statue of Sargina in the city of Agani, where he was worshipped as a hero. These lines may have been inscribed on the pedestal and may have been copied by one of the Assyrian *literati*.

The name *Sargina* means 'king of justice,' as is evident from the passage 2 R 48, 40; *Sargina* = *sar kitti*. *kitti* meaning 'justice.' To which the further gloss is added: *dabib kitti*, *dabib damgati* 'meditating justice: meditating holiness.' Sargina has the same meaning with Melchizedek in Hebrew; of whom the account is so mysterious.

Mr. G. Smith considers Sargina to have been a real personage. But at any rate his history is mixed with fable. I made a translation of it some months ago from plate 4 of the inscriptions, and I have since learnt that Mr. Smith has prepared another translation, which will appear in the first volume of the Society's Transactions. This has not yet reached me,* but I believe that Mr. Smith drew the attention of the Society to the close parallel which it exhibits to the history of the infancy of Moses as related in the 2nd chapter of Exodus. This great similarity had also struck me very much, before I was aware of Mr. Smith's observations.

We read that the mother of Moses 'took for him an ark of bulrushes *and daubed it with slime and with pitch*, and put the child therein, and she laid it in the flags by the river's

* The present paper was sent to the Society on February 1, 1872. The first part of the Society's Transactions was not published till about three weeks later.

brink.' All this was done likewise by the mother of Sargina. The pitch was to prevent the entrance of the water. *Line* 5. 'And Pharaoh's daughter saw the ark among the flags, and she sent her maid to fetch it. And *when she had opened it* she saw the child.' This circumstance also agrees exactly. Sargina's mother had made a door to the ark, and closed it with pitch, of course only round the edges. The child would breathe freely through the interstices of the rushes, and could not fall out of the ark.

Similar traditions attend the birth of other great law-givers or founders of nations. The story of *Romulus* offers in some respects a striking resemblance. The mother of Romulus was a king's daughter: *But his father was unknown.* The new-born infant was placed in a boat (*alveus*, Livy) and launched on the waters of the Tiber. The boat coming ashore, was found by the king's herdsman, who with his wife Acca brought him up as his own child. When of sufficient age he became the head of a band of rustic and warlike youths and gradually reached sovereign power.

Similarly Sargina was saved from the river by Akki the fisherman (a name much resembling Acca) and brought up as his own son. When old enough he joined a rustic people and became their king, and afterwards a powerful monarch (*sar dannu*).

The god *Dionysus* when an infant was placed in an ark and thrown into the sea. The waves cast him ashore on the coast of Brasiæ in Laconia (Pausanias).

Cyrus, son of a princess, but brought up by a herdsman as his own son; elected king (though in sport) by his rustic companions; afterwards the founder of a great monarchy, has some points of similarity with the tale of Sargina: but the circumstance of the ark on the river is wanting.

These examples show that similar tales were current in antiquity concerning the infancy of many great sovereigns or legislators. I will now give a translation of the inscription in plate 4, as I understand it.

" I am Sargina the great king, the king of Agani. My mother never knew my father. My family were

the rulers of the land. My city was the city of Atzu-pirani which stands on the banks of the river Euphrates.

" My mother conceived me: in a secret place she brought me forth. She placed me in an ark of bulrushes: with bitumen she closed up the door.

" She threw me into the river, which did not enter into the ark.

" The river bore me up, and brought me to the dwelling of Akki the fisherman.

" Akki the fisherman in his goodness of heart lifted me up from the river.

" Akki the fisherman brought me up as his own son.

" Akki the fisherman placed me with a rude race of men . . . . . [*some words are here effaced*].

" Of this rude race the goddess Ishtar made me king: and for (. . . . .) years I reigned over them."

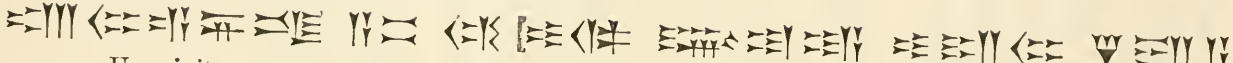
[The rest of the inscription, consisting of several lines which are much broken, seems to say that during his reign Sargina introduced civilization, or great improvements].

As scholars may wish to see the original words, I annex them, with interlinear version and some brief notes.

1.

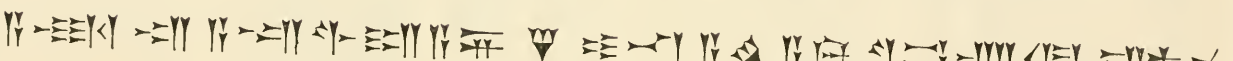
Sargina sar dannu sar Agani anaku.

Sargina the great king, the king of Agani, I am he.

2. 

Umminita abi val idi: akhat-ya irami shadá:

My mother my father knew not: my family were the rulers of the land:

3. 

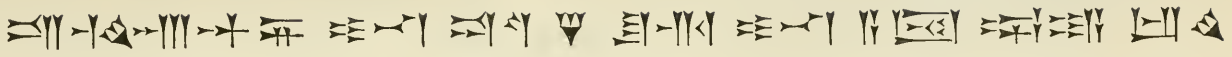
ali ar Atzupirani sha in akhi nari Buratti saknu.

my city (was) the city of Atzupirani which on the banks of the river Euphrates is situated.

4.

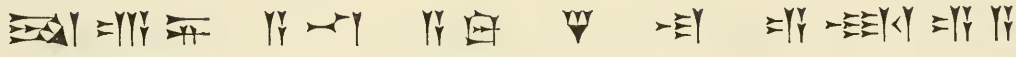
Ir-anni umminita: in buzri ulat-anni

My mother conceived me: in a secret place she brought me forth

5. 

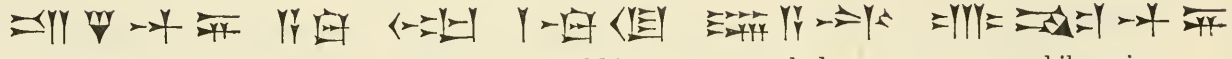
iskun-anni in gubut sha suri: in kupri bab-ya ipukh:

she placed me in an ark of bulrushes: with bitumen my door she closed up:

6. 

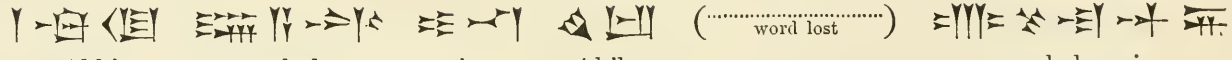
idd-anni ana naru, sha la elie-ya

She threw me into the river, which did not enter [i.e. *into the ark*]

7. 

issh-anni naru eli Akki a-bul ubil-anni.

it carried me the river: to the dwelling of Akki the fisherman it brought me.

8. 

Akki a-bul in khib (word lost) ushal-anni

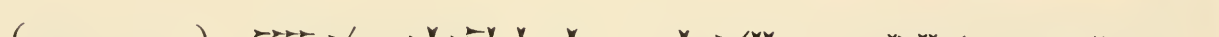
Akki the fisherman with goodness lifted me up [*from the river*]

9.

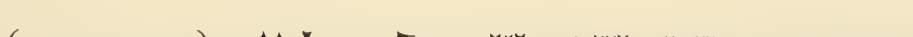
Akki	a-bul	ana	maruti	.....	urabb-anni
Akki	*the fisherman*	*as*	*his own son*	.....	*brought me up*

10.

Akki	a-bul	ana	nisi	nu-issarti	.....	iskun-anni
Akki	*the fisherman*	*with a race of men*		*uncivilized*	.....	*placed me:*

11. 

(in nisi)	nu	issarti	Istar	lu-iram-anni,
(*of this people*)		*uncivilized*	*Istar*	*made me king,*

12. 

.....	shatti	saruta	lu-ebus.
for	*years*	*the royal power*	*I exercised.*

Notes.

Line 2. *Umminita*, my young mother; a diminutive from *umma* "mother."

Abi, my father. The final *i* is the pronoun. "My mother did not know my father." Considering that his mother belonged to the royal family; that she was delivered in secret, and that the child was abandoned, this passage affords a strong confirmation of the statements made by Herodotus (book I, chap. 199) which have been deemed incredible by many authors, although supported by the book of Baruch, chap. vi. Compare also the story of Rhea Sylvia the mother of Romulus, who was a king's daughter; the unknown father, and the abandonment of the child.

Akhat. Family; tribe; brotherhood; from the Heb. אח frater: אחות fraternitas.

Irami, from Heb. רום altus fuit, excelsus fuit. Also 'elevavit, altum fecit.' It is used again in line 11 of this inscription, in both places denoting *sovereign power*.

Line 3. *Ali*, my city. Final *i* is the pronoun.

Atzupirani. The latter part of the name is the Chaldee *Birani* meaning Citadel, Tower, or Palace.

Line 4. *Ir-anni*, she conceived me. This is the well known Hebrew verb הרה *era* or *erah* 'concepit: gravida facta est.' Pregnant women are called in Hebrew הרות and הריות. Both these forms are found in the Assyrian inscriptions, viz. *erati* and *eriati*, see for example 3 R plate 60.

Ulat-anni Heb. ילד peperit. Very common in Assyrian and occurs in several conjugations.

Line 5. *Gubut* קבת or קבה, the Latin *Cymba* a small boat. Also in Greek κυμβη, from κυμβος anything hollowed out, especially a hollow vessel, agreeing with the Hebrew קב to be hollow or arched. M inserted before B, euphoniæ causâ. This important word *gubut* or *gubbut* is thus written in the original . The sound of the first syllable I take from the Syllabary No. 487 which explains it by *gubba*. I think I see some resemblance between *gubbut* and the Greek κιβωτος an ark. In the before-mentioned passage,

Exodus ii, 3, the LXX have *θιβιν* or *θιβην*. Scholiast: *θιβη, κιβωτος παπυρου.*

Suri, bulrushes. The *σαρι* of Theophrastus who says they grow in the Nile. They are called *Shari* in Egyptian, see Tattam's Dictionary, p. 580. And he gives further proof, namely that the Red Sea is called in Egyptian *pi' iom n-shari*, but in Hebrew יַם סוּף *iom suph*, 'the sea of rushes' because full of that plant. The word סוּף *suph* is that which is translated 'flags' in Exodus ii, 3, 'and she laid it in the *flags* by the river's brink.'

Ipukh, she closed, stuffed, or made tight. Heb. פָּךְ clausit, obturavit (Schindler): and Buxtorf p. 1792 renders the verb by 'obturare rimas fenestræ stupâ, lanâ, aut aliis rebus.'

Line 6. *Eli* is the Hebrew verb עַל or עָלַל to enter. Buxtorf and Gesenius have 'ingredi: introire.' Not to be confounded with the verb עָלָה to rise high or ascend.

Line 7. I have translated *A-bul* 'a fisherman': but this is mere conjecture. The word is evidently Accadian, and I have supposed it to be formed of *a* (water) and *bul* (life) 'he who lives on the water' or 'by the water.'

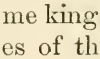
Line 8. *Ushala* 'he lifted up' Heb. סָלָה elevavit.

Line 10. *Nu issarti* untaught, rude, uncivilized. From the Heb. יָסַר erudivit, castigavit, disciplinam adhibuit. Schindler p. 775. Furst renders it "to instruct: to discipline," p. 581.

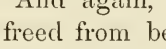
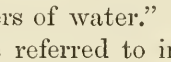
Line 11. "Istar made me king." *Istar* was the Babylonian Venus. The circumstances of the child's birth placed him under her especial protection.

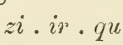
The other words of the inscription appear to be too common and well established to require any note.

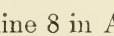
Additional Note.

In the story of Sargina I have translated  *A-bul* by 'a Fisherman.' But a text which I have since found (printed in 2 R 14, col. 3, line 8) shows plainly that it means 'a Drawer of Water.' He was therefore a labourer of the lowest and meanest class, as we see from Joshua ix, 21.

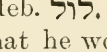
"And the princes said unto them 'Let them live: but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation.'" And again, lines 23 and 27, "There shall none of you be freed from being bondsmen and hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The passage referred to in 2R 14 relates to the raising water to irrigate fields or gardens. It is much broken and difficult to understand. It employs three times the Chaldee root דל or דלל 'to raise water,' and likewise the Chaldee זרק 'a bucket,' which is written in Assyrian  *zi . ri . qa* with the sign of *wood* before it; but in Accadian  *zi . ir . qu* with the sign of wood. I therefore think the subject of discourse is manifestly 'the drawing of water.'

Now we find in line 8 in Assyrian *ana diluti ushatsi* 'he went out to draw water,' which agrees in meaning with the Accadian *Abul-a-ku* (to draw water) *tutan-uddu* (he went out). Here we have  *a bul* (water—draw: the Latin *haurire*): *ku* (to, unto) a preposition, [which are always *post-positions* in Accadian] and again *a* (water). Making altogether *Abul-a-ku* "ad aquam hauriendam."—I cannot doubt therefore that the of Sargina's tale was a water-drawer: the spelling being the same.

The next following lines 2 R 14, lines 9 to 16 are of uncertain meaning. Then follows (line 17) *Dulati uratta* 'he let down the vessel' [דול *haustrum*, ירד descendit] *ziriku ilal-ma* 'he raised the bucket and'  'the waters' *idallu* 'were drawn up.' The Accadian version of the last line is 'the waters,' *tutan-bul* 'were raised': where we see the character *bul* 'to raise' is employed again.

I do not know whether the Assyrians used a windlass or any similar contrivance for raising water from a well: but if they did, these obscure words *zirik ilal-ma*, *mie idallu* might perhaps be better translated "the windlass was turned and the waters were drawn up." For I find that both לול and דרג *dirig* (which is nearly the same as *zirik*, ד for ז being frequent in Chaldee) are translated *cochlea* in the Lexicons; and *cochlea* is used by Vitruvius for a machine to draw up water.

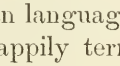
Some of these words are also found in Sennacherib's description of his new palace (3 R 13, 30). As the passage has not been understood, I will endeavour to explain it. *Assu tami uma* (on every day) *luligu* (I wound up?) *mie diluti* (waters drawn up) *dali* (in buckets). The mention of such a trifle shows the importance the Assyrians attached to a daily and plentiful water supply. Here  *Dali* is the plural of *Dalu* 'a bucket' both in ancient Hebrew (Gesenius) and modern Arabic (Catafago). Compare Layard's inscriptions pl. 42 first line, where the word is more correctly written. *Luligu* may perhaps be the "permansive present' of *Lul* 'to wind' Heb. לול.

After saying that he wound up fresh waters every day, Sennacherib goes on to say 'I made wheels of copper (*kharkhari takabar*) and .... of copper (*tarzati takabar*) and ..... of strong wood. This seems to be a description of some great water machine for supplying the new palace. But such technical words are of difficult explanation. *Kharkhari* seems a borrowed word—Persian *Charkh* 'a wheel.'

THE ASSYRIAN VERBS *BASU*, "TO BE;" *QABAH*, "TO SAY;" AND *ISU*, "TO HAVE," IDENTIFIED AS VARIANT FORMS OF VERBS HAVING THE SAME SIGNIFICATIONS IN THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

By Richard Cull, F.S.A.

Read 2nd April, 1872.

The recovery of the long lost language of Assyria is one of the remarkable events of our time. The long-continued, cautious and successful labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson on the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun cannot be too highly estimated. His researches proved the language of Babylonia, in the time of Darius, to be Shemite, and to be essentially the same as the Assyrian language of Tiglath Pileser. The late Dr. Hincks most happily termed the Assyrian, from its richness of grammatical forms, "the Sanskrit of the Shemitic family of languages." Although so rich in grammatical forms, competent scholars deem it to be more closely connected with the Hebrew, than with the Arabic. The occurrence of so many words of the same form, or nearly so, and in the same sense as the Hebrew, is a circumstance favourable to the verification of the statements of the early decypherers, as it was favourable to their original researches. Such a word as  , (*aslula*) "I spoiled," is obviously a form of the verb שלל, and is identified as the Hebrew verb of the same form and sense. It is not asserted that the Assyrian verb is derived from the Hebrew, nor that the Hebrew is derived from the Assyrian, but that the words come from a common source, just as the Italian *Peccare*, and the Spanish *Pecar* have a common source. In the case of the Italian and Spanish, we know that source to be the Latin *Peccare*. But we do not know the common source of the Hebrew and Assyrian languages.

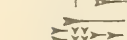
Many Assyrian verbs consist of the same radicals, and express the same sense as the corresponding verbs in the Hebrew, of which the following may be cited as examples:—

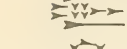
Ha-lik, *I went.* Heb. הלך.

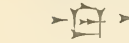
Iz-ku-ru, *They remembered.* „ זכר.

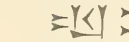
Az-ni-iq, *I advanced.* „ זנק.

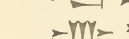
Ak-vu, *I burned.* „ בוה.

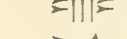
 Al-bi-in, *I made bricks.* „ לבן.

 U-ma-h-ir, *I hastened.* „ מהר.

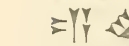
 Am-nu, *I numbered.* „ מנה.

 E-bir, *I crossed over.* „ עבר.

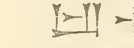
 Ip-la-ḫu, *They revered.* „ פלח.

 I-qa-lu-u, *They shall burn.* „ קלה.

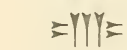
U-sal-ma, *I completed.* „ שלם.

 Is-me, *He heard.* „ שמע.

As-ru-up. *He burned.* „ שרף.

 It-ka-lu, *They trusted.* „ תכל.

Some Assyrian verbs differ slightly from the Hebrew forms as—

 Ip-ki-du, *He watches over.* Heb. פקד.

The slight difference of an Assyrian כ for a Hebrew ק presents no difficulty in the identification of the word. In like manner an Assyrian ד for a Hebrew ת, an Assyrian צ for a Hebrew ז, an Assyrian ס for a Hebrew צ present no difficulties to students.

There are many Assyrian verbs, however, whose forms are so unlike the Hebrew, that they have not yet been generally identified. I select three examples, and shall state the evidence on which I identify them as variant forms of well-known Hebrew words, and shall begin with the verb *Basu*, to Be.

The Assyrian verb 𒁹𒁹 *Basu* is a variant form of the Hebrew verb-substantive הוה to Be.

The current doctrine of Assyrian scholars is that 𒁹𒁹 *Basu* is the verb-substantive, and that it originates in an extra Shemitic source. There is, however, one distinguished writer on Assyrian grammar who denies the existence of the verb-substantive in the Assyrian language. M. Menant says, "L'Assyrien n'exprime pas le verbe substantif, il est toujours sous entendu. Si les inscriptions assyriennes des Achéménides renferment quelques exemples qui peuvent faire croire à l'existence d'un verbe de cette nature, il faut tenir compte de l'influence que la conquête arienne avait exercée sur les rédacteurs de ces textes; car le verbe substantif ne paraît pas avoir été en usage dans les inscriptions de Babylone et de Ninive."[1] Dr. Oppert, another distinguished writer on Assyrian grammar, probably agrees with M. Menant. A reference to M. Menant's translation of Assyrian texts will show how he deals with the verb Basu. The second part of the "Grammaire Assyrienne" consists of Babylonian and Assyrian texts arranged for reading, with grammatical analysis to illustrate his rules of grammar. The cuneiform text is accompanied by an interlinear transliteration into Roman letters, and under each line is a Latin version of the text. In addition to this, the text is repeated as a whole in Roman letters; then follows a transliteration of the cuneiform text in unpointed Hebrew letters. A French translation of the text comes next in order, which is followed by a grammatical analysis. Thus there are two transliterations of the text, one into Roman and the other into Hebrew letters. And there are two translations of the text, one into Latin and the other into French.

M. Menant enables his readers, by these means, to apprehend both his reading and rendering of these cuneiform texts, and that without much risk of error. The paragraph col. I, lines 26–53, from the Assyrian Inscription of Shâmas Phul, quoted from Rawlinson's Inscriptions, vol. 1, pp. 29–34, contains two examples of the verb *Basu*, the forms being

[1] Grammaire Assyrienne, p. 290.

Basa and *Usabsi*. Basa, line 33, he leaves blank in his Latin version, and translates it "*qui ouvre*" (who opens) in his French version. Usabsi, line 41, he translates *peccare fecit* in his Latin version, but appears to have overlooked the word in his French version.[1] Thus Basa is not translated into Latin, and Usabsi is not translated into French. In the grammatical analysis of the Assyrian text, where an accurate statement of the grammatical form and lexicographical value of each word ought to be made, he ignores the existence of the word Basa. Now, whatever the sense of the root Basu may be, the grammatical form forbids us to translate *Basa*, *qui ouvre*. And M. Menant does not justify his translation in his grammatical analysis of the text.

As to the word Usabsi, M. Menant is correct in stating it to be a Shaphel form, but in error in stating it to be the Shaphel of פשה *peccare*. The context does not require *caused to sin*, but *caused to be*. M. Menant does not connect *Basa* with Usabsi. He does not connect his root פשה with any Hebrew root. There is, however, a rarely used root פשע to Separate, and hence to Rebel. But the third radical ע is exchanged for ק in the Aramæan form of the word, which is evidence that it was the harsh guttural sound equivalent to the Arabic "Ghain," which was pronounced in Hebrew, so that the ע so pronounced is not likely to be represented in Assyrian by ה. Usabsi is a Shaphel form of Basu, to Be.

Mr. Norris remarks,—"The verb-substantive has been misunderstood generally, and has only been explained recently by Dr. Hincks."[2]

I now proceed to examine the phonetic structure of the substantive verb in the Hebrew, and such allied dialects, as are necessary for the inquiry.

The Hebrew הָיָה to Be, of which the ancient form is הוה, is מִלְרַע, that is to say, is accented on the last syllable. The verb is intransitive, although its second radical is pointed with kametz. The stem חוה to Live,

[1] Grammaire Assyrienne, p. 360, et seq.

[2] Assyrian Dictionary, by Edwin Norris, sub voce, p. 130.

hence to Be, is identical with הוה, the fundamental signification, according to Fürst, lying in the Talmudic הֲבָא "to Breathe."[1] There is a large group of cognate words in the Hebrew, either expressive of, or connected with, the act of breathing, some of which are transitive in sense.

היה	olim הוה to Breathe, to Be.
פעה	to Breathe.
פאה	,,
אפע	,,
פה	,,
נפח	,,
נפש	to Breathe, Respire, hence to Live.
נפש	Breath of life, Vital power.
נַפְחָה נָפְשָׁה	She breathed out the breath of life.—Jer. xv, 9.
פוּחַ	to Breathe.
פָּוָח	,,
רָוַח	,,
רוּחַ	Breath.
יפח	to Breathe.

In this group of words, the organic root of the stems begin with the labials *Beth*, *Vau*, or *Pe*, each of which is interchangeable with the others.

The Syriac ܗܘܳܐ to Be, is written with Olaph for the third radical, while He is the third radical in the Hebrew. This is a well known Aramæan characteristic. The *linea occultans* under the first radical shows, that although the letter is written, it is not pronounced, so that the word becomes a monosyllable, which is pronounced *vo*, or *wo*. In both dialects of the Aramæan, the eastern known as Biblical Chaldee, and the western as Syriac, the same weakened value of the first syllable is found in words cognate with the Hebrew מִלְרַע words, thus the Hebrew קָטַל is קְטַל both in Chaldee and in Syriac. To point the first radical with *sh'wa*, where the Hebrew points with a vowel is a well known charac-

[1] Fürst's Heb. Lex., by Davidson, sub voce הוה.

teristic of the Aramæan. This weakening of the first syllable has been carried so far in some cases, as to have occasioned its entire loss, especially in those instances where the first radical is a weak letter, as the Hebrew אֶחָד which is חַד in both the dialects of Aram. The triliteral character of the numeral stem is lost, as well as its pronunciation, but in the verb substantive, the triliteral form הֲוָה continues to exist, although the first radical may have been mute for perhaps two thousand years. Thus the toneless syllable of the Aramæan cognate of the Hebrew may be weak, or even dropped, and no trace of its existence remain, as in חַד, but the tone syllable lives in sense and phonetic power to attest that the Hebrew and Aramæan come from a common source. It will be observed, that in the comparison of the first numeral in these dialects, the first radical of the Aramæan is compared with the second radical of the Hebrew; and a similar course, so far as the pronounced Syriac word *ʾo* is concerned, is adopted in comparing the verb substantive in Syriac and Hebrew. It is therefore possible. that a similar course may be required to compare Assyrian and Hebrew stems. I am justified, therefore, in assuming that the first syllable, the weak one, of the Hebrew root הוה "he is," may be non-existent in Assyrian, and that therefore the first radical of the Assyrian *Basu*. which is ב, must be compared with the second radical of the Hebrew הוה. And I proceed to make this comparison.

The letter changes in the Hebrew language are chiefly amongst those of the same organ, thus the labials ב, ו, מ, פ, interchange; and ב and ו are conspicuous for such interchange. The familiar example גַּב and גַּו the Back, is known to every student of Hebrew. This interchange is not confined to the final radicals of a syllable, but occurs in stems middle ו, as in the words—

אוה and אבה.
אול and אבל.

These are merely variant forms of the same words. Such examples are sufficiently numerous, and the above are quoted as mere specimens, but not to exhaust the instances.

If the view be now extended to embrace other Shemitic languages, as well as the Hebrew, in order to obtain a wider induction of facts, the same interchange of ו and ב will be found.

Hebrew נבל and Aramæan גול.
„ עבט and Arabic عوض.

The ו of the Hebrew הוה has given place to a ב in the Talmudic הבא to Breathe. And besides the general evidence of the interchange of ו and ב in the Shemitic dialects, there is the special evidence supplied by the large group of Hebrew stems, all signifying to Breathe, in which the middle ו of הוה, to Be, has given place to פ, as in the examples —

הוה to Breathe, hence to Be.
אפע „
נפח „
יפח „

The evidence of the interchange of ו with ב, and also with פ in this verb, in Hebrew and in the dialects is sufficient to justify the inference that the Assyrian B of Basu, to Be, is the representative of the Hebrew ו of הוה to Be.

I proceed to consider the third radical ה of the Hebrew הוה, in order to compare the S of the Assyrian Basu with it.. A question, however, arises as to the radical ה. Is it a substitute for ו, or for י, or is it an original part of the groundform? הוה is a ל״ה verb, but it is not conjugated like ordinary ל״ה verbs, for the ה is retained, as if it were inscribed with mappik, although it is not so inscribed. Hebrew grammarians state, that ל״ה verbs were originally ל״ו, or ל״י verbs, that the ה was substituted for the ו, or the י, as the case might be, and that the ו or the י reappear in the conjugation. This inferential history may or may not be the actual history of such verbs, but the fact remains of the non-persistence of the ה in ordinary ל״ה verbs, and the fact also remains of its persistence in the verb-substantive היה to Be. The ה then is not a substitute for another letter, but is an original element of the stem.

In comparing the differentia of cognate words in the Hebrew and Assyrian languages, an Assyrian שׁ is occasionally found to correspond with a Hebrew ה. This was pointed out many years ago by Sir Henry Rawlinson in his elaborate memoir on the Babylonian version of the Behistûn Inscription in the case of the separate pronouns of the third person singular. And every Assyrian scholar admits, that *su* is the cognate of the Hebrew הוּא, and *si* of the Hebrew הִיא. With a knowledge of this established fact, we are not unprepared for the announcement, that the S of the Assyrian Basu may represent the ה of the Hebrew הוה.

The words נפח and נפשׁ to Breathe, appear in the above list of Hebrew verbs on p. 285. The verb נָפַשׁ to Breathe, whence comes נֶפֶשׁ Breath, is obviously a variant form of נפח, as is proved by its usage in the Bible. The evidence of the existence of שׁ as the third radical in a variant form of הוה, in the verb נפשׁ to Breathe, is amply sufficient to justify the inference, that the S of Basu, to Be, is the representative of ה in the Hebrew verb הוה to Be.

Abundant evidence of letter changes in the Hebrew itself, and in its allied languages, has been adduced to account for variations of form in well-known cognate words, and special evidence of such changes as produce the variant Hebrew forms of the verb הוה to Breathe, which, applied by a careful analysis of the word רוח, shows, that the Assyrian Basu is one of its variant forms.

I proceed to the verb *Qabah* to Say.

The changes which Aryan roots have suffered in the utterance of the several members of the family have been classified, and the letter changes, which record the forms of the same roots, are accurately known, and have become science. The history of our knowledge of these changes shows that the most obvious, such as *υπερ* and *super*, with those which attract the attention of boys in learning Latin and Greek, were first observed, and that these were the bases on which was reared the doctrine of such letter changes as marks the present state of Aryan philology. But Shemitic philology, in this respect, is as yet in its infancy. The likeness

of the Hebrew שֶׁלֶג, the Chaldee תְּלַג, the Syriac ܬܠܓܐ and the Assyrian 𒋛𒋛𒌋 *Salgu*, Snow, is so close as to force the conclusion, that they are merely four forms of the same word. A science of Shemitic philology based upon such obvious likenesses, but which shall also comprehend those likenesses, which are concealed by letter changes, which await to be studied and can be revealed only by such study, has yet to be constructed.

The Babylonian verb Gabah to Say is of frequent occurrence in the historical inscriptions of Babylonia. There can be no doubt of the signification of the word, as that is proved by the trilingual inscription of Behistûn; and none of its general form. Sir Henry Rawlinson considers *Gabah* to be a verb ל״ה, but doubts if any such root existed in the Hebrew language.[1] M. Menant deems the root to be peculiar to the Assyrian language, "*essentiellement assyrienne.*"[2] The third radical is stated by both to be ה.

The verb also occurs in the Assyrian historical inscriptions, but in the form *Qabah*, the variant form being produced by the substitution of ק for ג as the first radical. All students of Assyrian and Babylonian agree that Gabah and Qabah are merely two forms of the same word.

The ancient Hebrew root חוה to Live, is a variant form of the root הוה to Breathe. Now this root חוה to Live is also adopted in the sense of to Say, to Relate, especially in the Piel form of the verb, as in Job xxxii, 6, 10; xxxvi, 2; Psalm xix, 3, where it is adopted in the sense of to show by Statement, to Declare. The Chaldee cognate is חוא to Say, as in Daniel ii, 24; v, 7, in the sense to Say, Relate, show by Statement, to Declare. If we may judge from its more frequent occurrence in the Chaldee, than in an equal length of Hebrew text in the Holy Scriptures, we shall agree with Professor Lee, that the usage of the word is more Chaldee than Hebrew.[3] If we now turn to Syriac texts, we find the root ܚܘܐ to Say, in its Pael form ܚܘܝ to show by Statement, to Declare, is in common use, as in the Chronicles of Bar

[1] Analysis of the Babylonian Text at Behistûn, p. IV.

[2] Grammaire Assyrienne, p. 203.

[3] Heb. Lex. by Prof. Lee, sub voce.

Hebræus. It has been noticed by Bernstein,[1] and also by Fürst,[2] that in the Arabic, the first and second radicals of the root are transposed. This transposition, however, is not peculiar to the root חוה to Say, but uniformly takes place in the Arabic in all middle ו roots, which are common to the Hebrew, Aramæan, and Arabic languages.

The Hebrew verb חוה is מִלְרַע, that is, is accented on the last syllable. The first radical ח, although a guttural, is too strong to fall away, and is moved by a vowel in the Aramæan, as well as in the Hebrew.

I now proceed to show by means of some of the ordinary letter changes, which are familiar to Hebrew scholars, that the Assyrian Qabah to Say and its Babylonian equivalent Gabah to Say are variant forms of the Hebrew חוה to Say: and hence the word is Shemitic. The first radical is ח, which interchanges with certain other letters, both in primitive and in derived words, and amongst them with ק, of which the following are examples:—

חטף and קטף.
חשד and קשד.
חשש and קשש.

The following examples illustrate the interchange of ג with ח:—

חבל and גבל.
חדר and גדר.
חול and גול.

The facts of these interchanges in Hebrew, prepare us for similar interchanges in Assyrian and Hebrew, and hence the first radical ח of the Hebrew word חוה to Say, may be represented in Assyrian by ק and in Babylonian by ג, as I infer it to be.

Prof. Fürst finds the root חוה to Say in the Aryan family of languages. "חָוָא (Peal not used) *Aram. intr. to Say, to Relate*, dicere, narrare, identical with Heb. חוה, Sanskrit k'ja (חו = k'j) Lat. qua (in inquam)."[3] The identification of this root in Sanskrit and Latin enables us to identify it also

[1] Lex. Syriacum, sub voce. [2] Heb. Lex., sub voce.
[3] Fürst's Heb. Lex. חוא.

in the Teutonic and Celtic branches of the Aryan family, as in the Mæso-Gothic Qvithan or Kvithan to Say, Anglo-Saxon Cwethan to Say, English Quoth, Welsh Qwed, and Irish Ceadach. The guttural aspirate ח has become a hardened guttural *k*-sound in the Aryan family of languages, as represented by a Q, and the same hardening has taken place in the Assyrian, where it is represented by ק. The close likeness of ק and Q, if they be not precisely alike, is familiarly known.

I proceed to consider the second radical of the Hebrew חוה to Say. Abundant evidence is stated on p. 287 to prove that the Hebrew ו may be represented by an Assyrian B, as it is in the Samaritan חבה to Say.

The third radical of the Hebrew verb חוה to Say is ה, and the third of the Assyrian Qabah to Say, also of the Babylonian are described to be ה, but in both Aramæan dialects it is א. The Hebrew ה is not inscribed with mappik, and is therefore probably a Hebrew development of a more ancient ו or י; and the Aramæan א is probably a still softer development of an ancient form, both developments taking place in the respective languages after the divergence of the peoples from a common centre. The third radical of the Assyrian may, in like manner, be an Assyrian development from an older form. But whatever may be the origin of the Hebrew ה, of the Aramæan א, and the Assyrian ה, the identity of the Assyrian Qabah to Say, of the Babylonian Gabah to Say, and Samaritan חבה to Say, with the Hebrew חוה to Say is now established.

I proceed to the verb *Isu* to Have.

The Assyrian verb *Isu* to Have is of frequent occurrence in the historical inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. The signification of the verb was determined by Dr. Hincks. A collection of the several forms of the word found in the inscriptions is still insufficient to enable the grammarian to complete its conjugation from actual examples. But this is the case with many Assyrian verbs, both imperfect and perfect. The object of this paper is not the discussion of verbal forms with a view to their conjugation, but simply to ascertain their cognates. The inquiry is not grammatical but lexicographical.

The proposition which I now submit to Assyrian scholars is, that Isu is cognate with the Hebrew יֵשׁ.

"יֵשׁ, a very old noun from a verb-stem יָשָׁה, which has lost, however, the final sound in pronunciation, the same thing taking place also in other nouns from ל״ה, as in the case with דָּם, זַן, עֵץ, שֵׁם, בֵּן, מַת, שֵׁל, אֵל; before Makkeph יֵשׁ, with suff. יֶשְׁךָ, יֶשְׁנוֹ, יֶשְׁכֶם, יֶשְׁנוּ) *m. Being, Existence.*"[1] Buxtorf also derives יֵשׁ from the stem ישׁה.[2] Both Fürst and Buxtorf take אִישׁ to be a form of יֵשׁ, and most lexicographers admit them to be variant forms of the same word. It is familiarly known that many verbs פ״י have variants פ״א. In both the Aramæan dialects ת stands for the שׁ, the form being אִית, with א in place of י. The Hebrew lexicons refer to examples of both Hebrew forms of the word, and also to the Aramaic forms in the Bible, so that neither the forms, nor usage of the word, present any difficulty to be deemed insuperable. Possession is often expressed by the word יֵשׁ with the addition of the particle ל- (often called the dative) as in the phrase יֵשׁ-לִי תִּקְוָה, I have hope. Ruth i, 12, *i.e.* there is to me hope, as in the Latin *est mihi, tibi*, &c., for *Habeo.* Fürst agrees with other Hebrew lexicographers that "יֵשׁ is equivalent to תּוּשִׁיָּה (which is from the same verb) *essential, i.e. enduring possession*, Prov. viii, 2, as Ibn Esra already translates; the LXX having *ὕπαρξις*, Gr. Venet. *οὐσία.*"[3] Thus from the earliest translators and lexicographers down to those of the present day, the words יֵשׁ and תּוּשִׁיָּה are connected, and derived from a root יָשָׁה; and יֵשׁ signifies *true existence, actual being.* Professor Lee directs attention to the Arabic cognates, as expressive of wealth, property, possession,[4] and the secondary senses of the Hebrew יֵשׁ are substance, wealth, firmness. The phrase אֹהֲבֵי יֵשׁ Lovers of substance,

[1] Fürst's Heb. Lex. by Davidson, sub voce.
[2] Buxtorf's Heb. and Chaldee Lex., sub voce.
[3] Fürst's Heb. Lex., vide יֵשׁ and תּוּשִׁיָּה.
[4] Lee's Heb. Lex. יֵשׁ.

i.e. real wealth, Prov. viii, 21, exemplifies one of these secondary values.

The groundform יׇשׇׁה, or rather, as pointed out by Professor Lee, וׇשׇׁה, is adequate to supply all the forms of the word in the Shemitic languages. The sense of the verb וׇשׇׁה must have been to Possess or have actual wealth. The verb יָרַשׁ to Possess is probably an enlarged stem, by the insertion of ר in the groundform יָשָׁה. But however this may be, the idea of possessing, having wealth and substance, is the fundamental idea of the verb. And hence the Assyrian verb *Isu* to Have, to Possess, is a cognate of the verb.

THE ORIGIN OF SEMITIC CIVILISATION, CHIEFLY UPON PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

By A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 2nd April, 1872.

Two main causes have prevented the full application of the comparative method to the Semitic family of languages. Not only are they so much like one another as to be merely sister dialects, but we have no monument of ancient literature like the Vedas, which may serve as a starting point for our comparisons. Even the Old Testament is relatively too modern. Its grammar and its vocabulary have already passed into a later stage of the development of language. They are too nearly akin to those of Arabic or Aramaic. And even apart from this, the Old Testament is both too scanty and has been too much exposed to the corruption of copyists and the misconceptions of a late tradition. Moreover, the want of vowel-signs is a serious loss. The vowel-points of the Masora represent not the original pronunciation, but the traditional pronunciation of a time when the language had ceased to be spoken. Of late, however, materials have been accumulating which will make a scientific treatment of Semitic philology possible. Furnished with the method which has been so successfully applied to the Aryan languages, investigators have attempted to analyse the grammatical forms of the Semitic. Analogy justifies us in attributing the same origin to the Semitic inflections as to the Aryan inflections. The result is a conviction of the late linguistic position of the so-called Semitic tongues. They presuppose a parent-language, standing to them in much the same relation as the Latin stands to the Romance dialects. Beyond this point it is impossible to go

without further light; and just as there is much in the inflectional portion of the Romance dialects which would remain obscure without the knowledge of Latin and its cognate languages, so there is much in Semitic grammar which, unless we can find additional assistance, must for ever remain a riddle. But beyond the grammar, Semitic stands at a great disadvantage when compared with the Romance. The lexicon does not consist of a definite number of roots, which have been applied to an infinite number of meanings by the help of various inflections and ingenious *nuances* of signification; the Semite seems to have had a better verbal memory than the Aryan; perhaps the greater heat of his primitive abode gave him more leisure for reflection; and he preferred to express a new idea by a new word. These were all modelled after the same form; and just as the Aryan root is a monosyllable, so is the Semitic a triliteral. It is parallel with the fact that while the Aryan verb comes first and is presupposed by the noun, the converse is the case in Semitic; for the active idea implied by the verb requires to be expressed in the shortest possible way, but the noun needs prolongation and symmetry. This, too, is the difference between a life of activity and of leisure. Whether or not the Semitic roots are ultimately triliteral, is a question still in dispute. At all events the fact remains, that they are so in the Semitic languages in their present form. And so instinctive and necessary had this triliteralism become to the Semitic mind—even granting that it was not a primary instinct and necessity—that not only the Jewish-Arabic grammarians, but far earlier grammarians, the Assyrian literati of Assurbanipal's Court, older even than Panini and his fellow students in India, could only conceive of the Semitic root as a triliteral. Even the concave verbs in Assyrian have their medial vowel hardened into a consonant. And when a monosyllabic loan-word was borrowed from his Turanian neighbours, the Assyrian first of all "Semitised" it by changing it into a triliteral: thus *muk* becomes *mukku*, *nang'a* becomes *naga'u*. Indeed upon *à priori* grounds—and, when other data are wanting, *à priori* evidence is admissible—we should expect from the synthetic Semitic such a concrete

expression of syncretism as the symmetrical triliteral root, just as we find monosyllabic roots among the analytic Aryans. The Aryan founded inductive science: the Semite saw in the world only a stepping-stone to a higher whole, God. As for the arguments brought forward in behalf of the biliteral theory of Semitic roots, they seem to me to be altogether inconclusive. Triliteral roots do not exclude, they rather imply, pluriliterals formed from them by composition; and the biliteral roots that actually exist—putting out of sight the fact that the Assyrian grammarians triliteralised them—are either (as I hope to show) loan-words or bear traces of having lost a letter, which is sometimes written though no longer pronounced. Surely comparative philology teaches us that phonetic decay is invariably the rule rather than phonetic growth; and in the case of Semitic this is borne out by an analysis of the inflection and such compounds as צפרדע. It is more probable to suppose that similar roots with different servile letters have originated in the same unconscious impulse to connect sound and sense—for it must be remembered that the roots as such never existed *per se*, but only as implied in flectional words—than to attempt to cut out letters that are not servile in order to reduce all roots to the same biliteral form. We may ask whether in the last case the letters are to be cut out at the beginning, or in the middle, or at the end? In fact the procedure can only be arbitrary; and we have the evidence of Aryan philology for showing that the same radix appears under more or less varying forms which cannot be derived from one another (Curtius, "Grundzüge d. Griechischen Etymologie," 2nd edit. pp. 55-68). The striving to express the object of sense in what seemed to be appropriate sounds resulted in a variety of so-called roots, in which the principal sound was fixed, while its concomitant sounds varied. However, the whole biliteral theory is due to an unconscious effort to assimilate Semitic to Aryan philology. Comparative philology has to be learnt in the Aryan languages, and it is natural to fancy that the results in both families of speech will be the same. It is hard to escape from a bias of this kind. It shows itself again in the unscientific attempt to

compare Aryan with Semitic roots: they *may* have been originally connected, but there is no Grimm's law which will allow us to prove this.

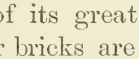
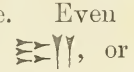
It has been necessary to say thus much in order to clear the ground for the subject of this monograph. Comparative grammar has made us aware of the poverty of our materials, while it does not justify us in going beyond our facts in reducing all Semitic roots to a biliteral form. But besides comparative grammar, other aids have recently been forthcoming which may enable us to reach back to the beginnings of Semitic speech. The scientific examination of the so-called sub-Semitic dialects of Africa by Lottner, Fr. Müller, Prätorius and others, has led to a comparison on the one side with Old Egyptian and on the other with the Semitic group, and to the belief that the parent of the sub-Semitic idioms was a sister of the parent Semitic speech. While the vocabularies are for the most part (as in Old Egyptian) essentially non-Semitic, the grammars—including the pronouns and in some measure the numerals—must as clearly be referred to the Semitic family. If these results will bear the test of further investigation, we have at last found a solution of our first main difficulty; and at the same time an instance is afforded of the extreme assimilating character of the Semitic tongues. Our second main difficulty is being obviated by the discovery of cotemporaneous inscriptions and papyri in South Arabia, Sinai, Egypt, Palestine, and elsewhere, by means of which we are enabled to trace to a great extent the development of the different cognate languages, and to determine the relation of the Aramaic to the other dialects which it tended to replace. In this point, however, the decipherment of the Assyrian has opened out a new world of facts to us. Not only is the grammar and vocabulary of the Assyrian so full and complete as almost to justify Dr. Hincks in calling it the Sanskrit of the Semitic languages, not only has its system of writing preserved the exact vocalic pronunciation, not only does it present us with copious cotemporaneous records from the sixteenth to the sixth centuries B.C., but it has also made us aware of the fact that a thick stratum of Turanian civilisation underlay

Semitism in Western Asia, and has given us the means of comparing the two.

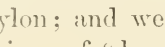
The cuneiform system of writing was originally hieroglyphic, and was invented by a Turanian, that is to say Ugro-Mongolian, population of Babylonia at an early period. The oldest memorials that we possess are written in a Turanian language and belong to cities and monarchs with non-Semitic names. In fact all the great towns both of Assyria and of Babylonia bear Turanian names, and these in many cases have been translated into Semitic by the later inhabitants of the country: thus Ca-dimirra, "Gate of God," becomes Bab-ilu, Babel. Kindred tribes dwelt in the neighbouring highlands of Elam, which were regarded as the primitive home of the Accadai or "Highlanders," the dominant people in Chaldæa; and Elam itself, as is suggested by Gen. xiv, 1, was the seat of an ancient civilisation. Libraries were established at Uru and Senkereh, the Pantabiblos and Larancha of Berosus, and were stocked with elaborate works on astronomy, astrology, mythology, agriculture, &c. These were translated into Semitic, and copies of them were made by order of the Assyrian kings, notably of Assurbanipal. whose library, unfortunately much injured, is now in the British Museum. From it is derived most of our knowledge of præ-Semitic civilisation, and of the debt of Semitism to the latter.

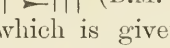
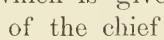
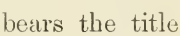
The Semite was by nature highly receptive, and was well fitted to be the future trader of the world. His alphabet was borrowed and adapted, in Assyria from Turanians, in Palestine from Egypt, in Himyar perhaps from India. The Arab received his mathematical science from Alexandria, his philosophy from Athens. We have seen how thoroughly non-Semitic is the vocabulary of the sub-Semitic nations. We shall not be surprised, therefore, at finding how greatly indebted to Accad the Semite was for the rudiments of his civilisation and mythology, and above all for the words which express these. I hope soon to make it clear that this was the case.

As regards the Assyrians, the matter is easy enough. Together with their syllabary they received from their

Turanian predecessors their pantheon, their science, and numberless words, such as *cuduru* "warrior," *nagu* "district," *enu* "lord," *khairu* "man," with its derivative *khir(a)tu* "woman." They were always bounded on the east by Turanian neighbours, and up to the last there were probably some remains of the old population both in Assyria and in Babylonia. We cannot compare the case of the Æthiopic which has borrowed only a few names of plants and animals from the Nigritian aborigines, as these stood on a lower, instead of a higher, level of culture. The Ghe'ez did not cross the Red Sea until they had fully developed their civilisation in Asia, and were therefore likely to mix even less with the primitive population of the country than the Karthaginians with Libyans or Spaniards. The Assyrians, however, entered into the labours of others. Assur is itself a Turanian compound from *a* "water," and *sur* "bank" or "field," and has therefore attached to it the Accadian suffix *ci* "land." The first builders of its great temple bore Accadian names and titles, and their bricks are inscribed with Accadian legends. The innumerable gods and goddesses, demigods and heroes, of the Accadians were adopted by the Assyrians in their popular mythology, in the larger proportion of cases without any change of name. Even temples of *Kharsak-curra*,  , or "Highland of the East," "the Mountain of the World," and cradle of the Accadian race and ritual, are founded by Assyrian monarchs. Nay, we find the same starting point of Turanian civilisation mentioned in the Old Testament; Isaiah (xiv, 12) sets the king of Babylon on "the mountain of the gods" or "world," which the Jew. who had identified Accad or Urdhu,  (B.M. S. II, 48; 13), "the highlands," with Ararat (*Urardhu*) of the same signification, places in the north. Both Accad and Armenia are called in the inscriptions *Burbur* or "summits."

The last sentence raises an important question. If the Ararat of Genesis is Kharsak-curra, did the Hebrew as well as the Assyrian derive his traditions of primæval times from the Accadians? And as the Old Testament is, besides the Assyrian inscriptions, the only existing monument of ancient

Semitic belief, the question amounts to asking whether the Semitic traditions generally are referable to a Turanian source. Sir H. Rawlinson and other Assyriologues answer in the affirmative; and I am disposed to agree with them. My reasons are the following. The Assyrians have borrowed their mythology from Accad; such a borrowing, therefore, is possible in the case of the other Semitic peoples. And this possibility is raised to a certainty in certain instances in Genesis. Two of the rivers of the Garden of Eden are expressly stated to be the Euphrates and the Tigris, under its old Accadian name Hiddekhel, and I have found Gikhkhan, the exact representative of Gihon, given as a synonyme of the Euphrates (B.M. S. II, 35; 1, 6. For the value of the first character see B.M. S. II, 4; 622). The second home of mankind, the second origin of civilisation and city-building, and the confusion of tongues, are all connected with Babylon; and we find the Accadian princes styling themselves kings of "languages," while an old name of Babylon was *E-ci* or "mound-city." The name itself, *Ca-dimirra*.  , or "Gate of God," reminds us of the statement that it was here that God came down to see the children of men. From Babylonia, again, came the progenitors of the Hebrews, Terah and Abraham, as well as Lot and others; and "Ur of the Casdim" is not necessarily Mugheir, as I have found Uru applied to the whole of Accad from the name of the capital. Arphaxad and Chesed are connected on the one hand with Shem and Abraham, and on the other with Aram; and the city of Nahor, the scene of Jacob's marriages, and the home of Balaam, are placed in Mesopotamia. The fragment of foreign history, finally, which is set before us in Gen. xiv, is Babylonian; and the supremacy of Elam, the names of the kings, and the campaigns in Palestine, are borne out by the inscriptions of Accadian kings. If these portions of Genesis thus plainly point out their Chaldean origin, why should not the same hold good of other portions? Berosus makes the antediluvian kings of Babylonia ten in number, and the tenth, Sisuthrus, has a history closely analogous to that of the Biblical Noah, excepting only that his ark rested

on the Gordyæan mountains of Kurdistan, the *Kharsak-curra* of the Inscriptions, instead of on the more striking but later-known Armenian Ararat. Now Sisuthrus is plainly *Susru* "the founder," (B.M. S. II. 48; 30, 38), (like the Egyptian *Menes*), which is given in the tablets as a synonyme of *Anu* one of the chief gods of the Accadian Pantheon. Anu, who bears the title of "Primæval Chief," signified "the high one," "the god," "heaven," and was ordinarily called *Na* in Accadian. The final syllable seems to have been gutturalised, as in *nitakh* "man," by the side of *nita*, and consequently exactly represents the Heb. אנ. A fragment of an old ritual speaks of "the overwhelming flood of Na in the midst of heaven" more than once, and invokes Ussur as "the striker of fortresses," who "has opened" (*ipta'*)  , "the hostile land like a whirlwind," "in the expanse of heaven" (*samu*)  , addressing him afterwards under the name of *Khammu*  (B.M. S. II, 19). Perhaps we are reminded of Japhet dwelling in the gates of Shem, with Canaan "the lowland" of the nether earth as his servant. It must not be forgotten that the shrines or arks of the gods were called "ships," and a curious account of a war of the gods and their children against the Moon recalls what is told us about the sons of Elohim in Gen. vi, 4. Just as the Sabbath-rest was known to the Accadians, who had been led by their astronomical observations to set apart the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the months as days of *sulum* or "rest," on which certain works were forbidden, so the Tree of Life in Paradise finds its analogy in the sacred tree of the Assyrian sculptures, the cherubim connect themselves with the winged figures derived by the Assyrians from the Accadians, in whose language *cărūr*, , meant "inspector," and Hea the god of life and wisdom, called also "the king of rivers," was symbolised by the serpent. Sir H. Rawlinson believes that *Gan Eden* arose from the same etymologising error that explained Babel by *balbel*. A common Elamite name of Babylonia was Gan-duniyas and Ganduni, *gan* signifying "enclosure," "district," and *Duni* or *Duniyas* being a proper

name. Jewish tradition identified *Gan* with Heb. גן, and changed the form of Duni so as to make it signify "delight."

If the foregoing be true, it will be no longer possible to attribute an Aryan origin to the early Semitic traditions—the favourite theory of scholars at present—except in so far as Persian influence after the Captivity may have modified the common stock of primitive history among the Jewish people. The Assyrian shows no trace of acquaintance with Aryan, unless possibly in *Mitra* (B.M. S. III, 69; 63), a synonyme of the Sun, and *urdhu* "high." In fact, it is hard to understand how the Aryan and Semite could have come into contact with one another until the Persians established themselves in Elam and the Assyrians invaded Media, or until the Phœnicians began to explore the shores of the Mediterranean. For it seems more and more clear that the original home of the Semites lay in the Arabian desert, stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, just as Airyanem-vaêjo was in the Hindoo-Kush. A nomade life best explains the characteristics of the Semite, and the purest type of the Semite at the present day is still the Bedawin. We have seen how Hebrew tradition went back to the Tigris and Euphrates and the land of Cush (which may be compared with the Cassi (? Kossæi), the fellow-inhabitants of the Accadians in Chaldæa, and with the important Babylonian city Cis); in the same way, according to classical authors, the Phœnicians averred that their occupation of Palestine fell within historical times, and that they had come from the Erythræan Sea, or Arabian side of the Persian Gulf (Her. vii, 89; Just. xviii, 3, 2; Strab. i, 2, 35, p. 42; xvi, 3, 4, p. 766). Joppa boasted of having been built before the deluge (Plin. v, 14; Solin. xxxiv. 1), and of being the seat of Kepheus king of the Æthiopians, the name under which the præ-Aryan and præ-Semitic populations of Asia and Europe were known to the Greeks. Thus we are told by Dikæarkhus that the Chaldeans were first called Kephenes from king Kepheus; and Pliny only rationalises actually-existing myths when he says (Nat. Hist. vi, 35) that "Æthiopia was illustrious and powerful even as early as the reign of Memnon during the Trojan War; and that its empire ex-

tended over Syria and the shores of Italy in the age of king Cepheus, is clear from the legend of Andromeda." The cuneiform monuments bear similar testimony. Up to quite a recent period the Khatti or Hittites, the Kheta of the Egyptian, were in possession of all northern Syria; and their proper names are non-Semitic. In Genesis, the Hittites appear as far south as Machpelah; and the Zuzim, Zamzummim, Emim, &c., the giants of old time, seem to belong to the præ-Semitic aborigines. Kharran, the key of the highway from the east to the west, is an Accadian word meaning "road"; and the title "king of the four races" assumed by the Accadian monarchs apparently denotes Syria, and may refer to linguistic and ethnic differences. Assyria did not pass under Semitic rule until after the nineteenth century B.C., as the date of the *patési* of Assur, who founded the Temple of Anu there, is fixed, by a reference in the standard inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, at B.C. 1840; and the Semites could only have moved up from the south. Babylonia, however, or rather the western bank of the Euphrates, on which Uru stood, had long contained a Semitic population. Not only do we find the Accadian princes occasionally writing in Semitic, and yet oftener translating into Semitic, but even the astrological tablets sometimes have Semitic glosses, and private contracts are drawn up in Semitic when one at least of the parties bears a Semitic name. Very rarely the monarch himself has a Semitic name, as in the case of Naram-Sin, the conqueror of Karrak, corrupted by Accadian pronunciation into Rim-Sin; but this, perhaps, only happened after the Semitic conquest of Assyria when the two royal families began to intermarry. As I have already stated, however, the Semites do not seem to have ventured to cross the Euphrates and separate themselves from their kinsfolk in their old desert home. The predatory excursions of the latter do not appear to have been always easy to restrain, as one of the most important consequences of a favourable conjunction of the heavenly bodies was that "the cattle shall lie in the desert in safety." Those Semites who had settled under Accadian rule, and adopted the civilisation to which the Turanian settlers in

Babylonia had attained, chiefly show themselves in a business capacity in the contract tablets. The higher subjects discussed in the mythological and astrological treatises, and the royal inscriptions relating to the building of temples, were written in the language of the dominant people. The nomade was highly receptive though not original, and eminently fitted for the active habits and shrewd practices of trade.

It would seem, therefore, that the Semites extended themselves from their desert cradle first probably into Egypt, and then in comparatively historical times into Palestine, moving from south to north. They had already been brought into close contact with the Turanian civilisation of the Euphrates and Tigris, and tribes of them, with the roving disposition exemplified in the Hyksos in Egypt or the Israelites in Canaan, had settled among their Turanian neighbours. We may expect, therefore, that an interchange of ideas, arts, and words would take place between them; and as civilisation and culture were upon the side of the Turanians, while the Semite gave but little, he would receive much. This, I believe, is borne out by the facts. The Semitic vocabulary, examined in the light of cuneiform revelations, shows, I believe, much borrowing from the Accadian, and will enable us to gauge to some extent the amount of civilisation possessed by the primitive Semite before his intercourse with Accad. We have already seen that a considerable portion of Assyrian words, as well as the Assyrian mythology, are immediately derived from an Accadian source. I have also endeavoured to point out the probability that the common stock of Semitic traditions has the same origin. And I will now try to show that most of the so-called biliteral roots, and words relating to civilised life, are taken from Turanian Babylonia.

The first condition of civilised life is the city. Now the most conspicuously Semitic word for "city" is עיר. It is the first that would occur to the Semitic scholar. But עיר is the Accadian *Uru* (B.M. S. II, 2; 393), also called *Eri* (B.M. S. III, 70; 100), whence the name of 'Uru, "*the* city" par excellence, just as *Uruq* (Erech) is *'uru-ci* "city of the

land." *Uru* is translated by the Assyrian *âlu*, commonly used in Assyrian in the place of עיר as in Ellasar = Alu Assur (Gen. xiv, 1). *Alu* is Heb. אהל, and properly signified "a tent." This takes us back to a time when the Semite nomade lived in tents, and had to derive his idea and name of "city" from his Accadian neighbours. *Uru* seems to be connected with *'ur* or *'uru* "to defend" (with which, perhaps, *dur* "fortress" may also claim kinship); possibly עור "to watch" goes back to this origin. The Accadian also used the word *murub* (B.M. S. II, 30; 17) for "city," with the suffix *b* or *ba*, the initial vowel prefixing *m* (which was probably pronounced *mw*) as in *mus* by the side of *'us* "male." Other Semitic terms relating to the same idea have the same Turanian source. *Kirjath* and its numerous kindred words go back to the Accadian *kar* or *car*, קרא, "a fortress," which seems akin to *cal* "strong" and "stronghold." So again גן is the Accadian *gun* or *gan* with its bye-forms *gina*, *gagunu*, and *gungunu* "enclosure." The conception of a permanent enclosure had to come from the Accad or in later times from the Aryan *Paradise*. Similarly, as Dr. Oppert has pointed out, the word for "palace" was borrowed; היכל is the Accadian *'ê-gal* "great house," as in *ê-gal Khammurabi* "palace of Khammurabi." We shall find Semitic כ or ק representing Accadian *g* in other instances On the other hand the universal term for "house," בית *biyatu*, is the abstract fem. from בוא, and is literally "what is come to" or "entered," reminding us rather of the caves of the Troglodytæ than of a habitation made by hands. From the same root probably comes also במה "altar," with the second radical hardened into *m* as is so common in Assyrian (*e.g. camu'u* = בוה, *limu'u* = לוה, *'amaru* = אור, *lamu* = לוה). The derivation would be parallel to that of תל from עלה (Assyr. *tul*, *tal*). It is possible that עי "ruins" represents the Accadian *e*, which means at once "hollow" and "mound" (B.M. S II, 2, 376; 50, 55), (whence the name of "house"). Along with the names of settled habitations, the Semites had to borrow the words that expressed their contents. Thus כסא "seat," "throne," goes back to the Accadian *guza*.

Arabic and Aramaic have inserted *r*, that favourite supplementary sound of the Semites, as in דרמשק for דמשק. See also "the floor" *temennu* was the Accadian *temen* from *te* "to raise." The requirements of a settled order of society, again, were denoted by terms originally Accadian. In contradistinction to *malicu* "the small chief," was *'sarru* "king" (Heb. שר). This was the Accadian *'sar* (as in 'Sar-gina). So, too, *enuv* , became the common Assyrian *'enu* "lord," like חר from the Accadian *kharra* or possibly even בעל from *mul* "master." The crown that the king wore was *ega* or *aga* in Accadian, *egu* or *agu* or *agagu* in Assyrian, and the word in the primitive signification of "circle" is known to the other Semitic tongues. Law itself was a foreign idea to the primitive Bedawin who did that which was right in his own eyes. From *di* "judge" came *dinu* (דין), increased by the nasal-like *dun* ("go") by the side of *du* or *sem* ("give") by the side of *se* . It is noticeable that the terms for "enemy" or "stranger" (גר and נ־כר) as opposed to "friend" seem also to claim affinity with the Accadian *curra*, as if the Arab nomade had no definite enemy or friend, for his hand was against every man's and every man's hand against him. Less remarkable is the Turanian origin of some of the metals. *Zabar* , "copper" or "bronze" is the Arab. *zifr*, which is compounded with *bar* "bright" or "white" like *babar* "silver," the *shining* metal. The same word shows itself in בר־זל "iron," which is represented in the cuneiform by the god Bar, the lord of the sky and the thunderbolt. *Cisip* , "number," "valuation," may be compared with כסף, and would imply that silver was the usual medium of exchange between the neighbouring races. The word may be related to *caspu* "hour," "mile," which was adopted by the Assyrians. "Number" or "measure" generally has also the same origin. The *maneh* with its cognate מנה (*minutu*), &c., is the Accadian *mana*, which we first meet with in an old law-tablet. Similarly the idea of "weighing" or paying" is borrowed. The Accadian verb was *aca*, (B.M. II, 2; 336), properly "to raise" the scales; and the Semitic שקל has, I believe, its origin in

the common Accadian *sak-ili* "head-raising." Mathematical science had made much progress among the Accadians: we are not surprised, therefore, at discovering that they gave the Semites not only the general term for "number," but also the definite expression of a large cipher: מאה "one hundred" is the Accadian *mih* , "multitude," whence *mes* "many," compounded with *is* "heap," like *es* "abode" (*ê-is*) by the side of *ê*. Even the first numeral seems to have drawn one of its names from the same source. אחד *khidu* (whence *ed-is* or *khad-is* "alone"), is clearly the Accadian *khid* or *id* "one." *Khid* or *kat* primarily signified "hand," and refers us to the time when the savage expressed "one" by holding up his hand. It is curious that the Semites took two of their words for the "hand" from a foreign people. *Id* is יד, and כף is as clearly *gap* which in Accadian denoted "palm" or "hand," while the ordinary Assyrian word was *katu*. Another part of the body also received a foreign name: פי or פה is the Accadian *pā* "mouth," "speech," which is found by the side of *ca;* and the plural *pa-pa* or *ca-ca* denoted the face," like פנים. From *uzu* , "flesh" or "body," perhaps came עז "strength," and *libbu* (לב) is referred to the Accadian *libis*.

Astrological terms would naturally be borrowed. Thus we are not astonished at the similarity of the Semitic חלה, &c., to the Accadian *khul* "unlucky," "bad," "ill;" or possibly of *sukh* "lucky" to שמח. The Assyrians, of course, derived *dibbu* "a tablet" from the old language, and perhaps *khir* , "to write," may be detected in חרט "a style," and חרש "write," "scratch," "plough." Agricultural terms, indeed, may be expected to have had their prototypes in Accadian. Thus *neru* "the yoke" for ploughing is the Accadian *ne* or *ner* ; נקר "to dig" is equated with the Turanian *ingar;* and גיא "cleft," "valley," represents the Accadian *ge* , א expressing the guttural sound heard after the final vowel. Babylonia was the native home of the cereals: hence we readily recognise in שבר (*sibirru*) the Accadian *se-bar* "white corn"; from *se* , "corn," came the Assyrian *seum* (compare סערה). Bar "white" gave

its name to בר, so that as in English the Semitic grain took its appellation from its white color. It is possible that *agaru* or *akaru* "field," with *ecilu* (חקל), *kakaru* or *gagaru* (כבר), and *caramu* (כרם), find their original root in *cur* "country," which, like *mat*, Aram. מתא (from *ma-da*), was borrowed by the Assyrians.

Besides the level of culture, the geographical character of the primitive home of the Semites may be ascertained from the records of language. Both mountains and large rivers seem to have been unknown to them. Thus the Assyrian *sadu* (Arab. *saddun*) "mountain" is the Accadian *sad* 𒁕 (=*sa-da*); and from *sak* (*sa-ak*) the Assyrians formed *sakumatu* "highlands." So, again, דר is *ar* 𒂗, "district," more especially "mountainous district," and עלה seems to connect itself with *ili* as well perhaps as נשא with *is*, *izi*, and *isa*. On the other hand, *gabiri* was, I believe, borrowed by the Accadians. No Accadian analogies for it are forthcoming, and it is probable that *gabir* is the original form of the word which in later Semitic appears with *l* (as in Arab. *jebel*), and is thus connected with גבר "strong." Neither the Æthiopic *daber* (*tabor*, טור) nor the Accadian *bur* "head," "high" (also "ten") can well be akin. The Semites were especially fond of the sound *r*, which changes into *l* more readily than *l* into *r*; and we may quote, by way of illustration, the parent Aryan speech in which *l* was rare, if not unknown. So in Egyptian *l* is replaced by *r*. This would be interesting to Semitic philology, as affording a presumption for the non-originality of *l* in roots. Other words besides *gabiri* were borrowed by the Accadians from their neighbours: thus *ibila* "son" is the Assyrian *abilu* (from אבל, הבל), with *a* weakened to *i* as in Rim for (Na)ram. So *emi* "people," Heb. עם, is more probably of Semitic origin than the converse. As regards the evidence for the want of rivers נהר, יאר can hardly be separated from the Accadian *'aria*. With this agrees the Semitic traditions that go back to the Accadian rivers Hiddekhel and Euphrates, and the present character of northern Arabia. On the other hand, the Semites were acquainted with the sea: ים (*tihamtu*) and *marratu* (Arab. *bakhrun*, Æth. *bakher*) find no Accadian

analogues, and the latter may possibly be connected with מלח "salt." The words denoting "ship" and "fish," again, are of native origin. This would suit the Phœnician tradition of their cradle on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

In addition to all these more technical and specific terms, the Semites were indebted to their neighbours for other words of more general meaning. *Ab* or *aba* "father" and *um* "mother" are, indeed, of universal recurrence, and are, therefore, no proof of borrowing upon either side. But this is not the case with words like בן with Shaphel שכן by the side of *gin* (which may, however, originally had the more definite meaning of "fixing" a settlement or house, like the Accadian *sim* , "foundation," whence שום, &c.), or *bat* , "to open," which reminds us of פתח, Ass. *pitu'u*. In *ri* "to shine" as compared with ראה, or *'ur* "heat" as compared with אור and יר, we may have astronomical references. Other instances need not be quoted, as enough, I think, has been brought forward to show that there are strong grounds for justifying my opinions upon the obligations of early Semitic civilisation. A new light has been thrown upon the primitive history of the Semitic race, and we are better able to compare the Semitic languages with Old Egyptian or the sub-Semitic dialects. I confidently look forward to future research both corroborating and increasing the results contained in the present monograph.

NOTE.—*'Sar* , "king," is derived from *'sa* ( ), "judge," "prince," by means of the formative *r* or *ra*, which we find in *dimir-ra* "god," *zicura* "heaven" (by the side of *zicuv*), and other words. *Bab-ilu* I have also found given as *Bab-ili* "Gate of the gods" (B.M. S. II, 48; 57).

JERUSALEM,

AN INTRODUCTION TO ITS ARCHÆOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY.

By William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

Read 7th May, 1872.

The topography and archæology of Jerusalem, it is well known, present a very large and complicated field of inquiry. We have had many very learned and able works devoted to the subject; and many are the theories and eager the controversies to which it has given rise. As explorations go on, and farther discoveries are made, the results doubtless will be always brought before the members of this Society. In view of this, my duty to night had better be confined to little more than an introduction to this important branch of Biblical Archæology.

It may be as well to state, that my own opinions as to any particular theory are very vague and undecided. From the difficulties I find in every view of the case, my first notions, instead of becoming confirmed, are getting more and more unsettled. The questions are so very complicated, and, although we have had a great accession to our knowledge, yet on many of the most important points we are so entirely in the dark, that I am willing to keep theory in abeyance till more light can be found. Let me confess that, while not altogether free from some tendencies of thought, I cannot appear as the out-and-out champion of any of the systems of Jerusalem topography. Such being the state of my mind, I hope that, in the allusions I may make to any of the opposing theories, I shall express my views fairly and without prejudice. I can at least declare that it is my wish to endeavour to do so.

The first instance that I can remember of what might be

called "Jerusalem Explorations," was when Omar entered the city after its capitulation, in the year 636 A.D. The story as it is told shows that it was difficult to get at the truth even at that early period. The Kalif made a request to Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to be led to the Mosque of David, meaning the site of the Temple. The patriarch, professing to do so, led Omar to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, saying, "This is the Temple of David." A glance at the place told Omar that it was not so, and he said, "Thou liest! The Prophet of God described to me the Temple of David, and this is not it." Hearing this, the patriarch next led him to the Church of Sion, and again Omar said, "Thou liest!" It was not till after these two attempts to deceive had been made, that Sophronius led the way to the Musjid of Jerusalem, by which name was meant the Temple site. When they came to the gate called Bab Mahomed they found it filled up with dung, and water came down upon the steps. The patriarch hesitated, and said, "We can only enter here on our hands and knees." "On our hands and knees be it then," said Omar; and in this fashion they went in.

The Kalif having looked around, exclaimed, "God is Great! By him in whose hands my soul is, this is the Musjid of David, from which the Prophet told me he had made the Night Journey." The Sakrah or Sacred Rock was found covered with dung, which the Christians had thrown upon it out of spite to the Jews, but Omar, using his own dress, set the example of cleansing the site, and was followed by his companions.

This ancient inquiry into the site of one of the Holy Places suggests the question, Was it the present Sakrah which Omar accepted as the right one? To explain the different views on this subject will give some idea of the theories as to the site of the Temple.

There is on the eastern side of the city a raised and enclosed plateau, 1,500 feet long by 900 feet wide; it is now called the "Haram es Sherif," or the *Noble Sanctuary*, and all are agreed that somewhere within this enclosure the Temple stood. The Temple with its courts, we learn from Josephus, covered a space of 600 feet square. But the present

enclosure is large enough to have held *three* such temples. It is this ample space which admits of so many theories as to its actual site. Speaking generally, they may be reduced to two. The first we may call *the traditional site*, affirming the central platform, on which stands the so-called Mosque of Omar, or Dome of the Rock, to be the spot. This occupies very nearly the centre of the Haram enclosure, and is slightly within the 600 feet in size, but still so near it that it may pass for the general dimensions. But, on the other hand, from the southern end of this platform to the south wall of the Haram is exactly 600 feet, and from its south-east corner to the west wall is precisely the same length; and thus we have the square described by Josephus as the space occupied by the Temple and its courts. This is the second theory of the matter in dispute. There are various suggestions of intermediate positions, but by assuming them all as being embraced in the two just described we reduce and simplify the controversy.

The traditional site has this advantage, that its centre is the highest point of what must have been the Temple Mount, and is covered by one of the finest buildings in the world. Looking from the Mount of Olives on the Sacred City, there is one structure which, from its size and importance, attracts the eye beyond all others. Under its dome there is no pavement of tesselated marbles, no altar of gold or precious stones, but a rough crag stands up seemingly as rude and primitive as the bare rock on the summit of a highland mountain. This is now called the "Sakrah," and accordingly the building over it is named the "Kubbet es Sakrah," or *Dome of the Rock*. The literal historic facts of this rock are very slight indeed. Its traditional history, on the contrary, is unlimited. Here Adam was created, and thus it had something to do with the Garden of Eden. It makes counter-claims to Ararat as the spot where the Ark rested. Here Abraham came to sacrifice Isaac. Here also Jacob passed his night of dreams on a stone pillow, declaring it to be the House of God and the Gate of Heaven—Temple attributes, and still applied as the definition of the *Church*. This was the thrashing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and

thus the site of the Temple, according to the theory under consideration.

Sophronius described the Sakrah to Omar as "the Rock on which God spake to Jacob; which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven; the Israelites, the site of the Holy of Holies; which is the middle of the earth, and was the holy place of Israel, and is held by them in such veneration, that, wherever they are, they turn their faces towards it when they pray." Here we have, as in the old Greek drama, every scene of the divine play performed on the one stage. I have often heard these traditions sneered at, but I would suggest that they are founded upon the idea that what we now call the *Church*, was, and ought to be, looked upon as the theatre of every part of the Divine Mystery. But this rock is even more than all this. God himself is represented to us under the symbolical idea of a "Rock," and as this Sacred Rock is reputed to be not of this world, but came from heaven, and will return thither, we have in it a very clear type of the Divine Incarnation. I do not suppose that Omar did, or that the Mahomedans of the present day do, understand it in this light. I quote you their own traditions respecting it, and I think that the explanation which I suggest gives the true meaning of the very sacred character which is attached to the Sakrah. Well, any one visiting Jerusalem would say, "There is the Sakrah, no doubt just as it was found by Omar; and, of course, being so, that is the site of the Temple." All this seems very clear and simple, and so far the mind is satisfied. But then an advocate of the opposing theory appears. He rejects the traditional site with scorn, sneers at the Sacred Rock as placed here, and laughs at what he calls its absurd legends.

The advocates of the south-west corner as the site, say that Omar entered by the Gate of the Prophet, now called "Barclay's Gate;" and this gate led to the Temple, where their theory puts it. The passage is supposed to have led up to somewhere about the present Mosque El Aksa, and *there* must have been the True Sakrah, and which, no doubt, during the many changes of troublesome times has been swept away. Although the rock was removed, the traditions

remained, and, getting attached to another, that rock has become associated with a sanctity it has no just right to claim.

This will show how uncertain we are as to what place was accepted by Omar as the Temple site, and will convey a very fair idea of the difficulties we have to contend with, in the topography of Jerusalem. It is important for us here to remark that holy places have been changed from one spot to another. This is a matter of fact. The place of St. Stephen's martyrdom is a very good instance. At one time it was on the west, outside the Jaffa Gate; then it was removed, and a church in memory of it built outside the Damascus Gate, on the north. "And on the east side lieth Stephen who was stoned to death by the Jews outside the North Gate." (Lucian, A.D. 415.) Old maps represent the Church at the Damascus Gate, but this quotation, if we take it for the North Gate of the Temple, on the "east side," would apply exactly to the present St. Stephen's Gate. And now the only gate to the east is named from the Proto-martyr. The cave under the Sakrah is, according to Mr. Fergusson's theory, the true Holy Sepulchre, and he believes that a transference from that to its present locality took place about the 11th century. I do not intend to go into the very knotty points of that controversy, but only to notice some obvious facts of transference in this case. The most striking point in this matter is that the present Holy Sepulchre is a direct imitation of the Dome of the Rock. I do not mean in its architecture, but in its essential design and arrangement of parts. The chapel of marble, which is now the Holy Sepulchre, has been built over the tomb "hewn out in the rock," so that none of the rock is now visible; but if we suppose the chapel removed, we should have a bare rock with a cave or tomb in it. This is a repetition of the Sakrah and its cave beneath. The great Dome of the Holy Sepulchre is over it all, again repeating the Dome of the Rock on the Haram. The identity could be carried out between the two much more in detail if time allowed; but I wish to show that in this case it was not the mere building that was transferred. We have clear evidence of more than that. In

describing the Sakrah, Sophronius called it the "middle of the earth;" this, properly understood, was of right an attribute belonging to the Temple. Should any of you visit the Holy Sepulchre, it will now be pointed out to you *there*. Here is a double transference; from the Temple to the present Sakrah, and from the Sakrah to the Holy Sepulchre. At the Holy Sepulchre you will also be shown the tree where Abraham found the ram when about to sacrifice Isaac—another Temple attribute carried off. Adam's grave is also shown at the Holy Sepulchre. This legend is, above all others, the special property of the Temple. Without this legend it could not have been the Holy Sepulchre, and so we find it there. This flitting about of places reminds one of the tramps, who are always shifting their quarters to avoid detection. And from this we, the archæological police, if I may so describe our function, are compelled to additional care and watchfulness in searching after the truth.

Mr. Fergusson's theory, that the cave under the Sakrah was the true Holy Sepulchre, has been strongly opposed, and yet it ought to be now accepted that the building over it never was built as a mosque. Only when I visited it did I know there was a Mirab in it, constituting it a jami or house of prayer; but the Mirab is evidently a later insertion, and instead of being in the centre of the wall towards Mecca, where it would have been had the house been erected at first as a mosque, it is placed to one side. Mr. Palmer, who is well acquainted with the East, admits, in the work lately produced by him and Mr. Besant, that it "is not, properly speaking, a mosque," but its "form is, in fact, identical with that of an ordinary Muslim Weli, or saint's tomb." Mr. Lewin asserts the cave to be the "tomb of King Alexander." That, of course, refers to a period before the present edifice was erected. It is curious to note this admission of the sepulchral character of the cave as well as the building. I do not think that it would be right to say that this so-called Mosque of Omar must be a tomb; but I think that almost every one acquainted with the subject will agree with Mr. Palmer, that it is identical with a tomb. I speak with some knowledge of eastern tombs, and must endorse that opinion.

When Messrs. Catherwood, Arundel, and Bonomi brought home the first reliable drawings of this building, Mr. Fergusson declared that it could not have been built at Omar's time. This is, I think, an opinion that ought also to be accepted. Mr. Fergusson ascribes the erection of it to Constantine. Mr. Lewin thinks it might have been by Maximinus Daza, who succeeded Diocletian; and it has been suggested that the Temple erected on the site of the Jewish Temple by Hadrian to Jupiter was the basis upon which Omar built. It would be very important if this point could be decided, but there is as yet too great a variety of opinion to give hopes of anything like unanimity.

Mr. Fergusson's theory, that the cave under the Sakrah was the Holy Sepulchre, originated in the architectural argument that the building was of the time of Constantine. Although this was the starting point of Mr. Fergusson's speculations, it is far from indicating the limits of them; for they involve the whole subject of the topography of Jerusalem, and the discussion they have given rise to has been protracted and fierce, and seems still to be far from a close. I think that artists who have studied this subject have had a tendency to become Fergussonites; and I confess to a leaning that way in my views, still I have always had a difficulty of my own, and as it is a little different from the usual objections, I shall state it, though I fear you will think that it partakes more of sentiment than of science. If we consider Mount Moriah, or the Temple Hill, as it would be before walls were put round it or *debris* had accumulated on its sides, the most remarkable thing about it would be the rock on its summit and the cave below it—for it is understood to be a natural cave. I cannot help thinking that it was this rock and cave which first produced the sacred character of the locality. And I assume that it was a place of sanctity before the time of Araunah the Jebusite.

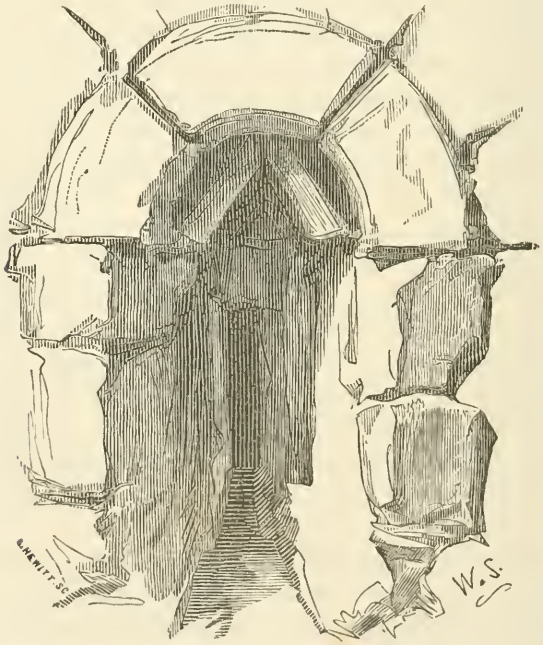
For myself, I would prefer a theory that would include the cave and the rock, and not leave them out in the cold as Fergusson, Lewin, Thrupp, and others do. Remember that we are talking of a country that was specially given to cave-

worship. All the most sacred shrines, even at this day, are caves—of which this is a case in point. The Holy Sepulchre, the Grotto of the Virgin near to Gethsemane, the Shrine at Bethlehem, all are caves. The Mosque at Hebron stands over one of the most sacred of caves, that is, the Cave of Machpelah. This cave-worship is no speciality of one faith; Christian and Mahomedan in our own time are equally devoted to it. This view of the case may not affect others as it does me. I have visited many shrines and know something of cave-worship, and would recommend its study, for it is quite as interesting as tree or serpent-worship.

A careful investigation of this sacred cave would be of great value. The wall on its northern side sounds hollow when struck, suggesting a further extension in that direction. Captain Warren suggests that this cave may be what the Middoth calls the Gate Nitsots, or "the Flower Gate," and that it communicates on the north with a long stone-cut passage, which he also thinks may be the Gate Tadi. This gate, the Middoth says, was "in the north, and served for no ordinary purpose." In explaining to you the results of explorations at Jerusalem, and its condition and progress, I ought to state that as yet no real explorations have been made within the Haram. Without a firman from the Sultan nothing can be done, and as yet there seems no chance of one being got for that purpose. Our knowledge is limited to what is visible in passages and cisterns to which access is allowed, and Captains Wilson and Warren have done their best to give us all that it is possible to be known of these places. But I feel it my duty to add that Pierotti, who pretended to give a faithful plan of the Haram with all its underground works, has produced what is little better than a fiction. As engineer to the Pasha of Jerusalem he had special advantages, which might have given us much valuable knowledge; but, although his work on Jerusalem is a large and pretentious one, it can never be a reliable authority.

The whole of the Haram is honeycombed underneath with works of various kinds. Captain Warren enumerates 34 different places, and gives descriptions of each. Some are cisterns, and some are passages. The most of the

cisterns are cut in the rock, but a very large one described by Captain Warren, near the Pool of Bethesda, is constructed of brick. The water-supply of the Temple seems to have been a most important matter. The number and size of some of the cisterns under the Haram surface is proof of this. The Babr el Khebeer, or Great Sea, is the largest of all these reservoirs. Its position is under the ground, close to the front of the Aksa. It is evidently excavated, and is of great size, extending from north to south about 150 feet, and nearly the same from east to west. Large rude piers have been left to support the roof; these are massive, and convey a look of elephantine strength to the place. Any speculation as to the age of this excavation must be very uncertain. It has no architectural features, no ornament, not even a moulding, to guide us. The impression produced upon my mind is, that it is very ancient indeed. Its size and massive simplicity induce this feeling, and we are led to infer that it should be coeval with the first erection of the Great Temple,



Bi-lithic Arched Conduit at the "Sealed Fountain," Pools of Solomon.

whose services demanded a large water-supply. This again receives a considerable colour of probability from the fact that the pools beyond Bethlehem, which supply this Great Sea, is associated with the name of Solomon, and they are undoubtedly of great antiquity. One of the sources of supply is a spring in the rock at the north-west corner of these pools of Solomon, called the "Sealed Fountain." The water passes to the pools through what seems to be a rock-cut tunnel arched above. Now this arch is, I think, an evidence of very great age. At one place it is formed of three stones, but farther in it is arched with only two stones, if I may use the word arch to such a construction. This form of building is as old as the Great Pyramid, and is strong proof, I think, of a high antiquity. And as the water from the Sealed Fountain flows all the way to the Great Sea under the Haram, I would suggest that the antiquity of the one helps to confirm the antiquity of the other. There is another very good evidence that these rock-cut cisterns are old. It is this; Captain Warren, in tracing the foundation of the western wall, near Robinson's Arch, came to a spot where it was built through one of them. The conclusion here is obvious, that the cistern is older than the wall. Now the wall is not very youthful, and the foundation at present is about 50 or 60 feet below the surface, with old pavements at various depths, each pavement representing a long lapse of time for the accumulation of its *debris*.

In truth, these cisterns are such primitive constructions that they may be of almost any antiquity. As I have already stated, I should be inclined to associate the Great Sea with the demands of a Great Temple Service, but some of the smaller ones, in all probability, may be of the Jebusite period. The necessity for the means of collecting water would commence with the first inhabitants of the place.

The very last discovery at Jerusalem is that made by Mr. Schlick of a very ancient rock-cut aqueduct, which he has traced all the way from the north-west corner of the Haram to the outside of the Damascus Gate. The *probability* that such a watercourse existed is mentioned by Thrupp, who calls it the "Upper Watercourse of Gihon,"

and, as indicated in his plan of "Ancient Jerusalem," is almost exactly where it has been now discovered. It is written of Hezekiah that he "fortified his city, and he brought in water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters" (Ecclus. xlviii, 17). It is also stated that he "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it down to the west side of the city of David" (Chron. xxxii, 30). Now if this should turn out to be this watercourse of Hezekiah (and there seems to be every probability that it is), it may settle which of the hills bore the name of the city of David. The valley of Gihon may also be identified, and it may help to fix some part of the walls built by Nehemiah. Should it do any one of these things, this discovery will turn out to be of great importance, and showing how much value there may be in finding out an old gutter. And here we have a good illustration of the character of these explorations. It is not gold, silver, or precious stones that we desire to find, but truth is the object of our search, and the well where the truth is hidden may be in an ancient sewer, or it may be in tombs containing the dust of men, or beneath accumulations of *debris* which is the dust of dead cities; and, as experience has proved, in such explorations there is danger from disease as well as from accidents.

In the work called the "Recovery of Jerusalem," telling us what has been done by the Palestine Exploration Fund, the introduction by Dean Stanley contains a passage which I think requires to be alluded to:—"The original stimulus to the whole undertaking," he remarks, "was supplied by the benevolent wish of Miss Burdett Coutts to ascertain the best means of bringing water to the thirsty city. The answer to this is given in the excellent Ordnance Survey, accomplished under the auspices of Captain Wilson, and the elaborate description of the ancient water-supplies given by Captain Warren. It may be added that in this investigation the interesting question of the supposed spring inside the walls of Jerusalem and under the Temple courts has been for the first time followed to the bottom; and the result appears to be, that whilst there is no actual spring within the wall, the

whole mount is so honeycombed with cisterns as to give ample materials for the conjecture of Tacitus, and for the imagery of Scripture, whilst at the same time it takes away from them the foundation of literal truth" ("Recovery of Jerusalem," Introduction, p. xvi). The position and authority of the learned Dean require that something be said in reference to this paragraph, for it may lead, if accepted, to the prevention of the discovery of one of the most important facts of the Temple Mount. To my view, the oriental mind could not conceive á place of prayer without a supply of water. The sacred spring is one of the necessary parts of a sacred shrine. The Hindoo pictures to himself the Ganges as flowing out from under the throne of gems, on which Siva sits on Kailas. In the Hindoo ceremonial there is an inseparable combination of bathing and prayer. The holy city of Benares has the sacred Ganges flowing past; but it has a fountain still more sacred, that is, the Mund Karniku Koond, which Vishnu produced with his discus, and first filled with sweat from his own body. Mecca has its Well of Zem-Zem, the most holy object next to the Caaba itself. Heliopolis has its "Fountain of the Sun," now the "Fountain of the Virgin." There is a spring on the Acropolis at Athens,[1] now led by an aquaduct to the Mosque in the Bazaar. I cannot recount all the holy wells and springs in the world, as the subject would form a volume, and under the title of "Well-worship" it would be a valuable addition to our knowledge of the various *Cultus* which have yet to be taken up in detail. I will now show you that it is upon this Temple necessity that the "imagery of Scripture" is founded. We are told that "a river went out of Eden." It was from the rock on which the Lord stood at Horeb that the water flowed. In the vision of Ezekiel it says, "waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward"—"and the waters came down from under from the right side of the house, at the south side of the altar" (Ezek. xlvii, 1). We have almost the same description in the New Jerusalem of the "river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out

[1] The sacred origin of this water is indicated in the myth, which ascribes its production to Poseidon, who struck the rock with his Trident.

of the throne" (Rev. xxii, 1). In the Christian Church we have baptism as the rite of entrance, and the holy water at the door. Milton speaks of Sion Hill, and

> "————Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the Oracle of God."

From this imagery of Scripture, that the Divine presence is a source of living waters, it is clear that the Temple, to fulfil this imagery, should have a source of water within itself. In fact no spot could have become holy as a site for a temple without this necessary condition. And one cannot conceive that such a sacred centre as Jerusalem could have been an exception to this universal rule. More than one author expressly affirms that there was a spring. Tacitus calls it a "Fons Perennis." Strabo and Aristeas also state the existence of a natural spring. In the honeycombing of the Temple Hill with cisterns and conduits it is quite possible that the source of this spring may have been tapped, and it is for a time lost in some larger stream; but whenever we shall be able to get the underground of the Haram properly explored, I believe that it will be found; and its discovery will no doubt have an important bearing on the question of the Temple site.

Assuming this original source of water as a necessary condition of the Sacred Mount, it is clear that as the Temple services increased it was not found sufficient, and that cisterns had to be formed to collect a larger supply, "the hard rock had to be dug with iron," and water brought in wherever it could be procured; the Great Sea tells us how large the demand for water must have been, and how vast was the labour expended to get the supply. The aqueduct, and the pools near Bethlehem from which the supply is derived, present to our mind a piece of scientific engineering coming down to us from a very early date.

There is another part of the imagery of Scripture which is very important in connection with the Temple site, and that is, that it stood upon a *Hill*. It is called the "Holy Hill," "The Mount," and the "Holy Mountain," &c., &c. The Mount was not, I should say, so imperative a condition of a holy place

as an original source of water, but we have in ancient times so many illustrations of sacred mountains, that we know the "Holy Hill," as applied to the Temple site, was no mere figure of speech. At present the Haram enclosure is nearly a level platform, and scarcely suggests the idea of a mount. If you survey the position from the Mount of Olives it seems to be only a sloping ridge, or a spur extending from the Damascus Gate to Siloam. You could go up to the holy place from three sides, but from the north you would go *down* to it. A minute's inspection shows that the Sacred Rock stands up in the centre of the Haram, but it is scarcely of a size to entitle it to be called a hill or a mount in itself. To the north of the Sakrah, about half-way between it and the northern limit of the enclosure, there is a visible depression in the ground. Whether it was formerly of greater depth, and has been filled up, we have no very clear information, because no digging has yet been allowed by the authorities within the Haram; but even as it is, in approaching the Dome of the Rock from the north, when you pass the depression you have to ascend. If it has been filled up, then the ascent must have been greater in former times; and at first, when Moriah was bare and rocky, before it was levelled into a platform, the spot where the Sacred Rock now stands may have had more the appearance of a hill. We have all different feelings in reference to such matters, but I confess that to me the conditions, which were in fact the expression of the imagery of Scripture, and which formed a part of the great ancient system of Symbolism, have far more interest than the question of the triple wall, or any of those points which relate only to the merely passing facts of history. Of course I know that each class of questions involves the other; as, for instance, that the consideration of the Temple Mount involves the question as to the site of Antonia, Acra, and the various towers which we are told were built for defence. From what I have already said, I need scarcely add, that I am not likely to agree with any of those writers who place the Antonia or the Acra over the Sacred Rock, as some of our ablest authorities on the subject have done. Mr. Fergusson, although from a slightly different

point of view, would also join with me in this expression of dissent. The position of the Turris Antonia depends in a greater measure with each theorist, as to where he draws the north wall of the Temple enclosure. The traditional site is the present governor's quarters, or barracks, at the north-west corner of the Haram. Waving the question as to whether this was really the Antonia or not, I think it must have at least been the site of one of the strong towers of defence. In all probability it was the governor's house in the Roman period, as it is now that of the Turkish governor from Constantinople. The old Roman arch in the Viâ Dolorosa seems to indicate this. But the real point of defence (remembering that the defence of Jerusalem was always the defence of the Temple) must have been the high ground to the north; and there is what seems to me to be evidence of this still remaining at the present day. The formation of the ground itself points at once to this as the real position of the stronghold, by whatever name it may have been called. Whoever has walked round the present walls of Jerusalem, may remember that not far to the east of the Damascus Gate there is a rocky cliff which stands high over head, crowned with a part of the present walls. It is not apparent at first, that in all probability this cliff was a scarp cut by the hand of man, but a close inspection reveals a great deal. You find that the rough rock over head has been cut, and that at this point a very curious and deep fosse has been excavated out of the solid rock. When the place is examined, this fosse is evidently not intended for defence, but was merely a passage by which the stones from the royal quarries were brought round to the Damascus Gate. And it is comparatively modern, for the newly discovered conduit, conjectured to be the "upper watercourse of Gihon," has been cut through by it. But suppose we are at a period before this passage was cut, and standing on the original surface of that time. We still find the high rocky cliff over our heads, and at the Grotto of Jeremiah, which is about 400 feet away, we have the counterscarp to this strong position, and there is every appearance that the whole of this intervening space has been cut or quarried away. Here we have a vast amount

of labour given to get a wide fosse, a point of importance in the old times, and to get height, which was the main element of strength when artillery did not exist. And this vast labour points to this place as the great stronghold of the Temple defence. I will not venture to say that this was the Acra, but I will venture to put it, that this was a high citadel. The summit overlooking everything else, and the real stratagetic point involving the attack and defence of Jerusalem.

Before closing this paper, there is one subject which it is necessary to refer to, and that is the wonderful old wall which encloses the Haram platform. If you go back before the time of Omar, or take the pre-Christian period, every effort at date is very uncertain. Now, I would express the hope that the old wall has secrets in keeping which it will yet be forced to reveal; but to accomplish this, there is work to be done. Inscriptions have been found on the stones of which that old wall is constructed: hewers of stone have been at work on them. I have told you that the cisterns under the Haram have no architecture, they are simply *hollows* cut in the rock, but the stones of the old wall are not cut alike. This difference of cutting is the point where I found some faint ground of hope. One portion of the wall has a peculiar style of building, or rather the stones are of a different size and cutting from what we find in other places. But as yet we have not been able to settle even an approximate date to any of them. All who have read Captain Warren's report must be familiar with what he calls the "bevelled draught." This is a border or smooth surface made by the "hewer of stone," all round its face. This bevelled draught varies, and the central part of the face of the stone also varies; so that in this we have an intention on the part of the workman. And here, like detectives, I think we have a starting point in our pursuit. If the philologists could agree about the inscriptions they might save us all this trouble; but knowing how uncertain all philological investigation is, I must express more faith in the stones themselves than in the written characters upon them. It should be the object of future explorers to become perfectly acquainted

with the various styles in which these stones are hewn, and then to compare them with similar building in that part of the world, till the date of some such work can be settled, and thus a starting point found. It is not an ordinary style of masonry. There is a stone of about 100 tons weight in the wall: another stone is about 40 feet in length: another is somewhere about 20 feet long and seven feet in depth. Now building with stones of this kind is not common; but wherever it is to be found it ought to be carefully studied and compared so as to get at a date.

The traditional theory is, that the Sakrah is the threshing-floor of Aranuah the Jebusite, and consequently the true site of the Temple, and it supposes that the present wall is the old enclosure; but its advocates do not attach much importance to this latter point. To reason thus is not very scientific or very archæologic. Those who put the Temple in the south-west corner write learnedly, quote Josephus, and talk archæologically,—and I must say that Mr Fergusson's effort to prove that the Temple was here, and that it was an enclosure of 600 feet, is one of the most complete and powerful pieces of argument that I have ever read. In reading it one feels that there is no chance for any other theory to hold up its head. It satisfied me till I visited the spot: and even yet I would willingly hold fast to it, were it not for other considerations which tend to make me doubtful. Going down the shafts with Captain Warren, I was impressed with the notion that the old walls were very ancient, and I confess to a feeling of relief in reading Captain Warren's part of the "Recovery of Jerusalem," where he at last declares that the limit of the Temple enclosure to a square of 600 feet is scarcely in keeping with his own explorations. I have long felt, even in the face of Mr. Fergusson's strong logic, that some compromise on this head was necessary, and I feel thankful to Captain Warren for breaking ground in this direction.

I am sorry that time will not permit me to go into detail on this subject. I can only refer you to what Captain Warren has given in his portion of "Jerusalem Recovered," where you will find a large mass of detail, all nearly new to

us, and all stated with a careful accuracy which is not only praiseworthy in the author, but will be most valuable to all future inquiry into this subject.

One word in closing as to the relations of this Society with the Palestine Exploration Fund. There is nothing antagonistic in our purpose, and there can be no rivalry between us. Ours is the whole field of Biblical Archæology, theirs the Exploration of the Holy Land. Their operations must be at all times of deep interest to us. They are the senior and the most powerful organisation, but the scope of our purpose is wider than theirs; and I think this Society will agree with me, that it is a happy thing for Biblical Archæology that there is such a well-directed force at work, and doing in such a practical way what it would be impossible for us to attempt.

The one great thing to be done is the collection of facts. That is what not only each Society can assist in, but even each individual can give a helping hand. And let me remind you of what is becoming every day more evident, that art-knowledge is one of the great keys of archæology. A man who draws cannot help acquiring an accurate idea of what he sketches. The plan of a building, or a bit of its ornament, even one of its mouldings, may be of the highest value in determining its date; so that every man who can use a pencil and a sketch-book will be able to assist, at least in part, in carrying out what ought to be the golden rule of every archæological society,—that is, to sketch, draw, photograph, and collect.

THE NEW MOABITE STONE.

An Examination of Mr. Henry Lumley's Letter to the "Times" on the Discovery of a New Moabite Stone.

By B. G. Jenkins.

Read 7th May, 1872.

As some present may not have read the letter in question, it will be more satisfactory before examining it to read it in full. It is as follows :—

"*New Moabite Stone.—To the Editor of the 'Times.'*

"Sir, It will be interesting to Biblical students and others to hear that a highly important engraved stone has just been discovered in the Moabite country, and which has been brought into Jerusalem.

"I have been permitted to inspect it, and I must say it bears about it all the significance of antiquity and truth. It measures 36 inches by 18 inches on the surface, is of hard, close granite, and has six lines of written characters almost identical in form with the Sinaitic letters. Mr. Shapira, of Jerusalem, who has made the ancient languages of this region his study, has supplied me with a translation, and according to his reading, no more valuable record of Biblically stated facts, made at nearly a contemporary moment with the events which it records, has yet been discovered. It may be, indeed, of more powerful interest than the Moabite stone, for it contains the name of Moses, who may have directed, seen, and approved the inscription himself as a memento of the conquest of Moab by Israel under their great leader, and in addition the stone, so far as the inscription is concerned, is in a perfect state. It was brought in here by Bedwin Sheiks from the ruins (or mound) of the city of Medeba, which is seven miles south of Heshbon, fifteen miles north of Dibon, and about forty-five due east of this place.

The characters, which are very clear and nearly perfect, are translated as follows:

"'We drove them away—the people of Ar Moab at the marsh ground, there they made a thankoffering to God their King, and Jeshuren (*sic*) rejoiced, as also Moses their leader.'

"If these words are compared with Numbers, chap. 21, verses 13, 14, and 15, and verses 21 to 30; Deuteronomy, chap. 11 (? 2), and Joshua, chap. 13, verses 9, 15, and 16, a remarkable coincidence of narrative will be seen. The town of Ar Moab mentioned on the stone is in the delta formed by the two rivers which flow into the river Arnon. The 'Ar Moab at the marsh ground' of the stone seems to be identical with 'the city that is in the midst of the river' of the 9th verse of the 13th chapter of Joshua.

"I have made a copy of the characters, which I bring with me to England, together with copies of the declarations of people here who know the history of the stone."

This letter was dated from Jerusalem, November 29th, and appeared in the "Times" of the 26th January last, in the most prominent part of the paper, at the top of a column, and in leader type, and whatever Mr. Lumley may have thought of it, certainly the editor of the "Times" believed it would create a sensation. But the next day Mr. Lumley appeared again in the "Times," and candidly admitted that he had seen and conversed with Mr. Deutsch of the British Museum on the subject, and, having discovered that he had been deceived, he begged to withdraw his previous letter.

It is my object to show that both the inscription and the letter bear their own condemnation, and, in doing so, I would direct attention to the following points:—

1st. Moses did not conquer Moab, and, therefore, there could not have been any memento of conquest.

2nd. If Moses had conquered Moab, Medeba is not likely to be the locality in which to find a monument of it.

3rd. Moses did utterly overthrow the Amorites at Jazah, which is represented by the village of Jazaza, and not by the place marked Jahaz.

4th. The "Ar Moab of the marsh ground," of the inscription, cannot be identified with "the city that is in the midst of the river." of the 9th verse of the 13th chap. of Joshua.

5th. "The city that is in the midst of the river" is "the city that is in the midst of the valley."

6th. Ar Moab is to be identified with Rabbath Moab, and not with "the city that is in the midst of the river."

In entering into the subject in detail, the first question that presents itself is: Was Moab conquered by Israel? To this there can be only one answer, No; and therefore Moses could not, as Mr. Lumley suggests, "have directed, seen, and approved the inscription himself as a memento of the conquest of Moab by Israel under their great leader."

Any doubts on this point—that Israel did not conquer Moab, and did not even, as this inscription asserts, drive away the people of Ar Moab—will be removed by referring to Deut. ii, 9, where the Israelites are expressly enjoined by Jehovah in these words: "Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of their land for a possession, because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession." That they obeyed is evident from the message sent 300 years afterwards by Jephthah to the king of Ammon: "Israel took not away the land of Moab, nor the land of the children of Ammon." He goes on to say that when they came up from Egypt, the kings of Edom and Moab refused to allow them to pass through their territories; "then they went along through the wilderness, and compassed the land of Edom and the land of Moab, and came by the east side of the land of Moab, and pitched on the other side of the Arnon, but came not within the border of Moab, for Arnon was the border of Moab." From this it is clear that the Israelites not only did not conquer the Moabites, to whom they were related, but did not even set foot in their land. How then could they say: "We drove them away—the people of Ar Moab at the marsh ground," when they never had any conflict with them? As Jephthah triumphantly puts it to the Ammonites: You never endeavoured to dispossess us, although you say

you knew the land was yours; are you any better than Balak king of Moab, and did you ever know him to fight against Israel?

It will be observed that Jephthah said that Israel "took not away the land of Moab, nor the land of the children of Ammon." No sooner had Moses "pitched on the other side of Arnon" than he sent messengers to Sihon king of the Amorites, asking for permission to pass through his land. Moses calls it Sihon's land, and so it was, for he had seized it from the Ammonites. Sihon refused permission, and the two fought, resulting in the utter defeat of the Amorites. So Israel possessed from Arnon unto Jabbok. Now this land Israel had been commanded not to take from the Ammonites, but coming, they found it in the possession of the Amorites, and even then they were unwilling to dispossess them, wishing only to pass through to their own land. Sihon however refused, and "gathered all his people together, and pitched in Jahaz,"—represented now by the village Jazaza, less than two miles from the river Arnon—"and fought against Israel, and the Lord God of Israel delivered Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel, and they smote them: so Israel possessed all the land of the Amorites, the inhabitants of that country. And they possessed all the coasts of the Amorites, from Arnon even unto Jabbok." They held it by the right of conquest. Herein is the explanation of that passage where Jephthah calls it *his* land, and where the king of Ammon complains that Israel took away *his* land "from Arnon even unto Jabbok," when they came up from Egypt.

Now if the inscription had been, "We drove them away —the people of Heshbon at Jahaz," it would have had the semblance of truth about it; as it stands, it is directly opposed to fact. And it is at Jahaz we would expect to find any monument of this great victory which might exist. But I suspect the Israelites were little given in those days to recording their achievements on granite blocks 36 inches by 18. They would probably—if they did anything—set up a great heap of stones, as they did shortly afterwards, when they crossed the Jordan.

The identification of the Jahaz of Numbers, 21st chapter, 23rd verse, where Moses utterly defeated Sihon, king of the Amorites, with the modern village of Jazaza, is important. I may here observe that the connexion between the two names is somewhat obscured by an incorrect rendering of the name in the original, יַהְצָה Yatzah or Jazah. There is no such place, so far as I can discover, as Jahaz. The connection however between Jazah and the modern village of Jazaza is evident. Jazaza lies to the south-west of the ruins of Dhiban, the Dibon of Scripture; these ruins are two miles north of the ruins of Arar, the Aroër of Scripture; but the ruins of Arar are on the north bank of the Arnon, and therefore the village Jazaza must be, as I have already observed, less than two miles from the Arnon. I observe on the map of Palestine that Jahaz is placed about twenty miles north-east of Aroër, twelve east of Heshbon, the capital of the Amorites, and fifteen within the borders of that people. Now, when we consider that the Edomites and the Moabites were both on the southern borders of their possessions, to prevent the Israelites setting foot in their territories, it is scarcely credible that the Amorites (with so much warning) would allow their foes to advance fifteen miles within their borders and only twelve from their capital. But, irrespective of this, Jazah in such a position was quite out of the course of the Israelites, for we know that they passed by Aroër. What otherwise is the meaning of that passage, Deut. 21st chapter, verses 13 to 15? "From thence they (the Israelites) removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that cometh out of the coasts of the Amorites; for Arnon is the border of Moab between Moab and the Amorites. Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord, What he did in the Red Sea and in the brooks of Arnon, and at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth on the border of Moab." Certainly this mention of deeds at the brooks of Arnon with those at the Red Sea would lead us to infer some overwhelming defeat, and what other than that of Sihon king of the Amorites at Jazah, within two miles of the river Arnon?

In regard to "Ar Moab of the marsh ground," I believe

Mr. Lumley has been led astray by a fancied coincidence of this expression with "the city that is in the midst of the river," of the 9th verse of the 13th chapter of Joshua. This fancied coincidence arises through what I consider to be an incorrect translation of this passage in Joshua, which should be "the city that is in the midst of the valley." A city in the midst of the Arnon is quite out of place, and the more so as there was a city Aroër situated on the north bank on the plain above. The word in the original is נָחַל nachal, which means both a river and a valley, and in translating that meaning should be taken which is most natural. The very same expression הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַנַּחַל haïr asher bethoch-hanachal, "the city which (is) in the midst of the valley," occurs in 2nd Samuel, 24th chapter, 5th verse: "And they passed over Jordan, and pitched in Aroër on the right side of the city that lieth in the midst of the river (margin: valley) of Gad and towards Jaser." This Aroër, the modern Ira, is "Aroer which lies before Rabbah," and not "Aroër that is upon the bank of the river Arnon;" so that if *nachal* is to be translated here *river*, we have two cities in the midst of rivers, close to another city called Aroër, not fifty miles from each other, which would certainly be remarkable. "The town Ar Moab is," Mr. Lumley states, "in the delta formed by the two rivers which flow into the river Arnon." In this I do not at all concur. Ar Moab, or Ar, is I believe the Rabbath Moab of the map of Palestine, not twenty miles north of Kir Moab. There are extensive ruins there, and I doubt there being any whatever at the place indicated by Mr. Lumley. The name Ar occurs twice or thrice in the Biblical account of the period, and Ar of Moab once or twice, and in each instance we are led to infer that the chief city of Moab is intended; as, in Deuteronomy, 2nd chapter, 9th verse: "Distress not Moab .... I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession," and verse 29: "As the children of Esau which dwell in Seir and the Moabites which dwell in Ar;" and Numbers, 21st chapter, 28th verse: "For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon: it hath consumed Ar of Moab and the lords of the high places of Arnon."

It is not at all probable that the Moabites would have their chief city on the border of their territory and in a river, but on a hill or in a valley under the shelter of a hill. It is a point worthy of notice, that when Balak the king of Moab wished to meet Balaam he went out—probably from Ar, his metropolis—"into a city of Moab, which is in the utmost coast." This city, whatever or wherever it may have been, was, I think, not Ar Moab; in all probability Ar Moab was in the interior of the Moabite territory, and not "in the utmost coast." If "the city that is in the midst of the river" is Ar Moab, why is it not spoken of as Ar Moab, and not as if it had no name? It would be very incorrect to speak of the same place as London and "the city which is built on both sides of the river," without making it clear that the two referred to the same place.

There are other points about the inscription, an examination of which would tend to strengthen any doubts which might be entertained on the subject; such as, first, the confusion of the first and third persons, as "We (the Israelites) drove them away . . . . . there they (the Israelites) made a thankoffering;" secondly, the translation "the people of Ar Moab at the marsh ground," as to whether the "at the marsh ground" is to be taken with the "Ar Moab," as Mr. Lumley takes it, or to mean that it was at the marsh ground that the Israelites drove away the people of Ar Moab; thirdly, the question as to whether the expression "God their king" is correct, when we find it said of Moses "he was their king in Jeshurun," or "Moses their leader," when Moses says "the Lord alone did lead them." Such points as these may seem trivial, but they are nevertheless significant.

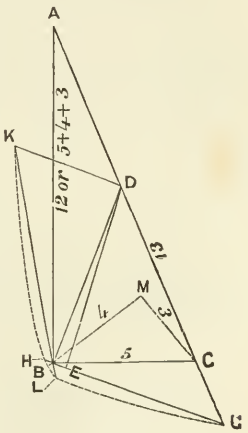
An examination of the inscription has settled some of these questions in a very summary manner; still I think there is sufficient *primâ facie* evidence in the letter to condemn the stone.

OBSERVATIONS ON BASE-LENGTH OF GREAT PYRAMID, AND ROYAL COFFER'S DIMENSIONS.

By S. M. Drach, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

Read 4th June, 1872.

Imagine a right-angled triangle ABC, where CB is 5, BA 12, AC 13. Drop BD on AC, ang. BAD = ABD; draw BG perp. to DB (G on AC). Let fall DE on BG, so that EDG is 45°. Produce GB till BH equals BE. Make DBK 30°, cutting DK perp. to DB in K; through K, H, G pass a circle, cutting KB in L. Then BL.BK equals BH.BG, and we have BL : BD :: BE.BG.BD :: BD.BD.BK in ratio of 100 times base of Pyramid.



For,

Arc tan. $\frac{5}{12}$ or BAC is 22° 37′ 11″·42 = twice arc tan. $\frac{1}{5}$;
Arc tan. $\frac{120}{119}$ or BDC is 45° 14′ 22″·84 = twice BAC;
Arc cot. 239 or BDE is 0° 14′ 22″·84 or 862″·84 or 57ˢ·523 (time)
(this is arc cot. 70 — arc cot. 99).

Now, a fourth of circumference π is 2 BAC less BDE; whence Machin found π to 100 and Rutherford to 208 decimals. BD is 239 BE, BG : BD :: 120 : 119; cos. 30° BD, BL = $\frac{120}{239.119}$.

Further, 862″·84 cos. 30° is 747″·242 or ·003622728 or $\frac{119}{120}$ (·003653172) of radius.

Assume the Earth's diameter 500500000 inches, then $\frac{1}{100}$ BL is 9142·063 inches, or Professor Piazzi Smyth's Pyramid base + $\frac{1}{10}$ inch, which therefore is 1-100th of hour-angle whose tangent is $\frac{1}{239}$.

Try $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ of ·0036524224 or ·0036219855, the diff. is 0″·1531 in 747″ and 0″·1786 in 863″.

Was the perimeter divided into other parts as well as 100?

Professor Airy states that the Earth's diameter varies from 502169112 to 500491400 inches. In 1862 I approximated $\pi = \frac{6}{2}\frac{3}{0}$ $(10^6 - 2669)$, or radius is $\frac{2}{6}\frac{0}{3} \times 501338071{,}312\ldots$truly 501387074. Did, therefore, the ancients—like the modern French metrists—make Earth's *circuit* a *round number* $= \frac{6}{1}\frac{3}{0}$ (100 millions of inches). and thence deduce the incommensurable diameter or axis?

Is the inch a "finger" or "toe" measure in some language? (compare Amos ch. vii. *Annoch* אֲנָךְ a plumb line).

The casing-stone diagram 59, 48, 75 gives angle 90° less 1° 37′ 07″·4, which is 21° 0′ 4″ short of BAC in triangle (5, 12, 13).

Calling L, B, D, the exterior, and l, b, d, the interior length, breadth, and depth of the King's Coffer; I deduce from Professor Smyth's measured, and Mr. Perigal's theoretic assumption. Professor Smyth's values are—

inch	inch	inch		Prod.
L, 90·01	B, 38·72	D, 41·27	Sum, 170·00	143833·675
l, 77·93	b, 26·73	d, 34·34	„ 139·00	71532·586
Sum, 167·94	65·45	75·61	„ 309·00	or 1000 cos. 72°
Dif., 12·08	11·99	6·93	„ 31·00	or 1-10th ditto.

Schubert ("Reise Morgenland," ii, 179) mentions an Egyptian lunar cycle of 309 months in 25 times 365 days, which I find occurred in the historic period, whether Laplace or Professor Adams's secular coefficient be used.

B:L ·430174	b:l ·343000	l:L ·865792	b:l is 0·7 cubed
D:L ·458505	d:l ·440652	b:B ·690341	BB is nearly 1500
B:D ·938211	b:d ·778393	d:D ·832081	

For squares of diagonals—

$L^2 + B^2 = 9601{\cdot}04$ $L^2 + D^2 = 9805{\cdot}01$ $B^2 + D^2 = 3202{\cdot}45$

$l^2 + b^2 = 6787{\cdot}58$ $l^2 + d^2 = 7252{\cdot}33$ $b^2 + d^2 = 1893{\cdot}73$

$L^2 + B^2 + D^2 = 11304{\cdot}25$ $l^2 + b^2 + d^2 = 7966{\cdot}92$

Mr. Perigal theoretically assumes:

L = 90, B = 39, D = 42, product 147420; sums 171 : 140.
l = 78, b = 27, d = 35, product = 73710, half of former.

Also thickness of walls to be 6 and of floor 7 inches:
Whence floor = 90.39.7 = 24570, one third of 73710 and one half of walls = { 2·90 + 2·27, or 234 }.35.6 = 49140.

Hence Mr. Perigal's numbers give—

B:L ·4333333	b:l ·346154	l:L ·866667
D:L ·4666667	d:l ·448718	b:B ·692308
B:D ·9285714	b:d ·771423	d:D ·833333

Proceeding to surfaces:

lb = 2106	:	LB = 3510	::	3	:	5	= ·600000	: 1
ld = 2730	:	LD = 3780	::	13	:	18	= ·722222	: 1
bd = 945	:	BD = 1638	::	15	:	26	= ·576923	: 1
Sum 5781	:	Sum 8928	::	41.47	:	31.96	= ·647513	: 1
$ld + bd$ 3675	:	LD + BD 5418	::	175	:	258	= ·678295	: 1
9456	:	14346	::	1576	:	2391	= ·659138	: 1
Diff. 108	from $\frac{2}{3}$, *i.e.* 9564		::	9	:	797	= ·011292	: 1

The squares of the diagonals are:

$L^2 + B^2 = 9621$ $L^2 + D^2 = 9864$ $B^2 + D^2 = 3285$
$l^2 + b^2 = 6813$ $l^2 + d^2 = 7309$ $b^2 + d^2 = 1954$

$L^2 + B^2 + D^2 = 11385 = 5.9.11.23$
$l^2 + b^2 + d^2 = 8038 = 2·4019$

Were the Mosaic Tabernacle measures connected with the Pyramid Coffer as a metric standard? We read in Exodus xxxvii, 1, and xxxviii, 1, that—

Ark = $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits × $1\frac{1}{2}$ × $1\frac{1}{2}$ = $\frac{45}{8}$ ($25\frac{1}{2}$-inch cube) or 93270·23$\frac{7}{16}$ cubic inches = 54 cubic feet nearly.

Our gallon of 277·274 cubic inches is 1-64th of a "quarter" (17745·536 cubic inches = 10·2694 cubic feet).

The Mosaic Ark contained 5·255983 quarters of corn. (N.B. A sphere whose axis is the cube root of 10 contains 5·236 cubic units).

The Mercy-seat was $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{15}{4}$ of ($25\frac{1}{2}$ inches square) $= 2438\frac{7}{16}$ square inches $= 16\frac{15}{16}$ square feet very nearly.

The Burnt-offering Altar contained 5.5.3 or 75 (cubits cubed), or 1243603·1 cubic inches, or 70·07977 quarters, or 719·68 (say 720) cubic feet, its sides measured—

25	square cubits,	or	$16256\frac{1}{4}$	square inches, or	$112\frac{57}{64}$ square feet.
15	,,	,,	$9753\frac{3}{4}$	,,	$67\frac{47}{64}$,,
40		Sum	26010	,,	$180\frac{5}{8}$,,

(four times difference).

Remark that $26\frac{1}{12}$ cubed is 17745·542, or 50 × 354·91, about the lunar year consumption per head of corn-bread in our time in Great Britain (Mackenzie's Tables).

Mr. Halliburton's idea that the archaic year began when the Pleiades are on the meridian at midnight (Smyth, "Work and Life at Great Pyramid"), which now occurs about 1st November (Hallowe'en—All Soul's Day), occurred 1350 B.C. on 3rd October, therefore temp. Moses, on 1st October—*ten days after the autumnal equinox*. Was this the reason of choosing the Day of Atonement on *the 10th of Tisri?*

I found the cube root of 2000 very nearly equals numerically the square root of 85 sq. + 93 sq. Now

$$85 = 49 + 36 \qquad 93 = 2.6.7 + 9.$$

ON THE *MAZZAROTH* OF JOB XXXVIII, 32.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 2nd July, 1872.

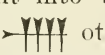
The Assyrian language will be found very useful in explaining obscure Hebrew words. If a word occurs only once in the Bible we have to trust to ancient translations for its meaning: but if we find it used in the same sense in Assyrian, we may thenceforward receive it with confidence.

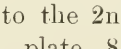
We read in the book of Job (xxxviii, 31, 32)

Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?

Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season? or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?

Many conjectures have been offered as to the meaning of the word *Mazzaroth*, but except that it must denote some star, planet, or constellation of stars, no certainty has been attained. And many attempts have been made by Furst, Michaelis, Ewald and others to refer the word to its Hebrew root, but unsuccessfully, for as far as I can find no one has pointed out the true etymology. And yet this is manifest from the Assyrian tablets, which not only employ many words derived from the same root, but even use the word *Mazzaroth* itself.

It was the custom of the Assyrians and Babylonians to divide the night into three watches, each of which was called an  otherwise an Accadian word which I think was pronounced *Innun*. This was first pointed out by Mr. G. Smith in an able article in the North British Review, No. 104, p. 365.

Now if we turn to the 2nd vol. of Rawlinson's British Museum Inscriptions, plate 8, we find the word *Innun* explained in Assyrian by the term *Mazarta*  .

Indeed, the scribe has chosen this pair of words for a grammatical example, and has declined it at length, thus:

Innun . Mazarta . (a Watch).
Innun ku . ana Mazarti . (to a watch).

and so on, to the number of ten inflexions.

It being then well established that *Mazarta* means 'a Watch,' we easily see that it is derived from נצר *natsar* or *nazar* 'to watch.' See for example Psalm cxli, 3,

נצרה על דל שפתי "Watch the door of my lips!"

The usual term for 'watchmen" is נצרים which also means *watch-towers* on the hills and *watch-houses* in the fields. The same verb is very common in Assyrian and often applied to astronomical *observation.*

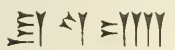
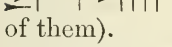
Verbs beginning with N often lose that letter in their tenses and inflections: thus from *nazar* 'to watch' we have *azar* 'I watch' and in the T conjugation *atazar* 'I watch;' *nitazar* 'we watch' (see plate 51 of vol. III Rawlinson's British Museum Inscriptions, where Report No. 9 from the Astronomers says) "On the 28th 29th and 30th of the month we kept watch (*mazarta nitazar*) for an eclipse of the sun. *Usitik* (it passed by?) and no eclipse happened (*atalu la ishkun*). On the first day of the month the moon was seen in the day time." Here is another example in which, however, the verb is used with *innun* instead of *mazarta.* "On the 14th day (*innunna* sha Sin *nitazar*) we kept watch upon the Moon. The Moon was eclipsed." Here *innunna* is written *nitazar* .

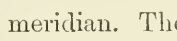
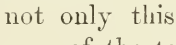
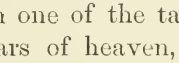
If we turn to plate 9 of vol. II (British Museum Inscriptions) we find another remarkable word given as a synonym of *Innun* . This is *Tsibittu* 'a Watch.' This is evidently the Hebrew צפית 'a Watch,' see Gesenius, who explains it exactly in the same way, he says: (Isaiah xxi, 5) צפה הצפית speculantur speculationem i.e. *excubias agunt in speculis.* Our authorised version has "Watch on the watch-tower!" The Assyrian scribe has taken this word and declined it at great length, just as he had done with its synonym *Mazarta.* Thus:

Innun . Tsibittu (a watch)
Innun ku . ana tsibitti (to a watch)

And so on for many other inflexions, as

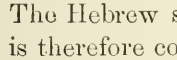
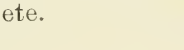
Ana tsibitti ushasib-su (he set him to watch)
Ishtu tsibitti ushatsi (he came away from watching).

I will add a very curious instance of the use in Assyrian of the Accadian word *Innun* from Mr. G. Smith's Assurbanipal p. 230 where the king boasts of the ravages he committed in the land of Elam: *Adká sedi alapi* (I broke the sacred lions and bulls)  *innun* (watching)  (over the temples) *malabasú* (all there were of them).

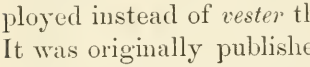
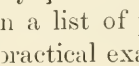
All these words appear to me mutually to confirm each other. Hence the *Mazzaroth* of Job were probably the Constellations which marked the watches of the night by coming successively to the meridian. The word is related to *Mazarta* 'a watch.' But not only this: I have found the word *Mazzaroth* itself on one of the tablets, which says: "He did not watch the stars of heaven, nor the *Mazzaroth*." Here the 'stars of heaven' are expressed in Accadian by and in Assyrian by  *kakkab shamami* two well known Hebrew words. And the *Mazzaroth* are expressed in Accadian by  *Innun*, and in Assyrian by  *Mazarati*. The Hebrew spelling of the word is מזרות, the agreement is therefore complete.

Additions.

I may add a few more phrases which confirm each other and serve to illustrate the preceding remarks.

A tablet directs some one to bind around his head apparently a magic band, which will protect him by night,  *as musi lu-natsir-su*. This is rendered in the Accadian language by  *mi innun* viz. *mi* (night) *innun* (guard).

Again, the following is like the passage which I quoted from Mr. Smith's Assurbanipal, p. 230: *Zalam mazzari*, 'the *guardian* statues of Héa, and Marduk, which stood on the right and left of the gate': (for *mazzari* the Accad has *innun*). Hence we learn that the gates of temples and palaces were sometimes protected by images of the gods themselves and not by winged lions or bulls.

Another curious example is the following: "Ye spirits, children of the deep, sons of Héa [Ocean] eat well, and drink generously, ere you go to your watch!" (*ana mazarti-kun*). The last syllable is broken off in the Assyrian, but I read confidently *ana mazarti-kun* because the Accad version has  *innun zunini* which is well worth attention as affording a practical example of the plural pronoun  *vester* (the singular being *tuus*). This pronoun appeared to Oppert so extraordinary that he says it has no analogue in any other language. It is in fact somewhat as if the Latins had employed instead of *vester* the barbarous expression *tuus illorum*. It was originally published in pl. 12, vol. II (British Museum Inscriptions) in a list of pronouns compiled by some grammarian. The practical example here given appears to confirm his accuracy.

Since the word *innun* is explained in Assyrian both by *mazartu* and *tsibittu*, as I have shown, it follows that *mazartu* may be exchanged in a sentence for *tsibittu*. And so we find by comparing the two following sentences—

Ana tsibitti ushasib-su. He set him to watch.

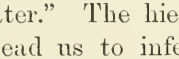
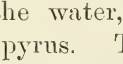
Ana mazarti tushasib, usib. Thou didst set me to watch, and I sat (watching).

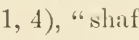
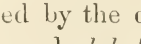
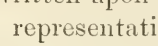
THE USE OF PAPYRUS AS A WRITING MATERIAL AMONG THE ACCADIANS.

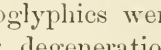
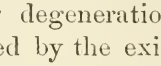
By A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 2nd July, 1872.

Among the clay tablets found by Mr. Loftus at Sinkara were contract records of a triangular shape, with holes at the two corners, through which cords seem to have passed and attached them to some perishable writing material. What this was has long been a subject of conjecture. The evidence, however, which I am about to bring forward will, I think, make it clear that the writing material in question was papyrus, which was used by the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing themselves, and employed, as in Egypt, for the inscription of hieroglyphics.

The ideograph is used to signify a "written tablet" (*duppu sadhru*), and is compounded of two signs, one of which expressed "writing" in general, and the other represented "water." The hieroglyphic original, therefore, would of itself lead us to infer that the writing material used by the inventors of the Accadian method of writing was procured from the water, and accordingly would be some species of papyrus. The Accadian name of the ideograph, *alal*, which is translated by the Assyrian *natsabu sa kani* ( , B. M. S. II, 33, 1, 6) "shaft of a reed," more than sufficiently confirms the inference. *Alal* ( ) was also one of the sounds attached by the Accadians to the ideograph of "writing" in general, thus showing how commonly employed papyrus must have been for this purpose. Another Accadian value of the last ideograph was *pišan* ( , B. M. S. II, 44, 28; 2, 374),

reminding us, perhaps, of the Pison of Genesis, and *pišan* is rendered *natsabu sa etsi* ( , B. M. S. II, 33, 1, 4), "shaft of a tree." The same ideograph, preceded by the determinative prefix of "wood," was again pronounced *alal*, from which the Assyrians borrowed *alalluv* ( , B. M. S. II, 44, 27). From the material the word came to be applied to what was written upon it: a "picture" or "image"—those hieroglyphic representations from which the cuneiform characters were derived—was called in Accadian *alala* and *alam* (Assyrian *bunnu*). We are thus led to conclude that the earliest Accadian hieroglyphics were traced upon papyrus leaves, and that their degeneration into wedge-shaped characters was occasioned by the exigencies of clay tablets and the indenting stile. Hence we are not surprised to find that the ideograph of "reed" (*kanu*) itself was used to represent "a written tablet," and consequently is rendered in Assyrian *duppu sadhru* ().

Besides the evidence deduced from a study of the ideographs, the inscriptions furnish us with a word which can only have meant "papyrus." This word is written *likhuśi*, and would seem to go back to an ancient date, in fact to the earliest period in which Semitic appears in the valley of the Euphrates, towards the 16th century B.C. Thus a table of Moon-portents, originally belonging to the Library of Sargina, at Uru, concludes as follows: "First tablet of 'the Moon at its appearance ..... according to the papyrus of the tablet (*ets - likhuśi' duppi*, ), before Babylon, by the aid of Nebo, the firm support, Merodach-mubasa the *Aba*  (astronomer), for his sight and his people." That the word signifies *papyrus* and not *parchment*, as Mr. G. Smith once supposed, is evident from the determinative prefix of "wood," which can denote only a vegetable substance.

To account for this early use of papyrus in Babylon, it is not necessary to assume an intercourse between this country and Egypt. The papyrus grew in the Euphrates, and was used for writing purposes, as is expressly stated by Pliny (Nat. Hist. xiii, 22): "Nuper et in Euphrate nascens circa Babyonem papyrum intellectum est eundem usum habere chartæ."

("We have lately learned that the papyrus grows also in the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, where it is employed in the same way as a writing material"), where *nuper* must be taken with *intellectum est* and not with *usum*. When it was first applied to literary uses we cannot tell; but since this seems to have been coeval with the invention of the hieroglyphics out of which the cuneiform characters grew, we are justified in believing that this invention took place in the alluvial plain in which the Accadians had settled, and not in the mountains of Elam, from which they had originally migrated,

A PRAYER AND A VISION

FROM THE ANNALS OF ASSURBANIPAL, KING OF ASSYRIA.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 5th November, 1872.

The following, which forms an episode in a great war with Elam, is published in the 3rd vol. of Rawlinson's British Museum Inscriptions, pl. 32, l. 16, and much more fully and correctly in Mr. G. Smith's Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 119-126.

Notwithstanding the general excellence of Mr. Smith's translation, there are several passages in which I am compelled to differ from him. It would take too long to justify these alterations on the present occasion, but they all have been carefully weighed, and I think the following translation, with the exception of a few uncommon words, which I cannot identify with any certainty, and some passages which are too much mutilated, is a near approximation to the sense of the original text.

I.

In the month Ab, the month of the heliacal rising of Sagittarius, in the festival of the great queen [*Ishtar*] daughter of Bel, I was staying at Arbela, the city most beloved by her, to be present at her high worship. There they brought me news of the invasion of the Elamite, who was coming against the will of the gods.

Thus: Tiumman has said solemnly, and Ishtar has repeated to us the tenor of his words: thus: "I will not pour out another libation until I shall have gone and fought with him."

Concerning this threat which Tiumman had spoken, I prayed to the great Ishtar. I approached to her presence, I bowed down at her feet, I besought her divinity to come and save me. Thus: O goddess of Arbela, I am Assurbanipal king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands,

[chosen by thee and] thy father [*Assur*] to restore the temples of Assyria and to complete the holy cities of Akkad. I have sought to honour thee, and I have gone to worship thee!

But he Tiumman king of Elam who never worships the gods..... [*here some words are lost*].

O thou queen of queens, goddess of war, lady of battles, queen of the gods, who in the presence of Assur thy father speakest always in my favour, causing the hearts of Assur and Marduk to love me..... Lo! now, Tiumman king of Elam who has sinned against Assur thy father, and has scorned the divinity of Marduk thy brother, while I Assurbanipal have been rejoicing their hearts. He has collected his soldiers, amassed his army, and has drawn his sword to invade Assyria. O thou archer of the gods, come like a (.....) in the midst of the battle, destroy him, and crush him with a fiery bolt from heaven!

Ishtar heard my prayer. Fear not! she replied, and caused my heart to rejoice. According to thy prayer thy eyes shall see the judgment. For I will have mercy on thee!

II.

In the night-time of that night in which I had prayed to her, a certain Seer lay down and had a dream. In the midst of the night Ishtar appeared to him, and he related the vision to me, thus: Ishtar who dwells in Arbela came unto me begirt right and left with flames, holding her Bow in her hand, and riding in her open Chariot as if going to the battle. And thou didst stand before her. She addressed thee as a mother would her child. She smiled upon thee, she Ishtar, the highest of the gods, and gave thee a command. Thus: Take [this Bow] she said, to go to battle with! Wherever thy camp shall stand, I will come to it.

Then thou didst say to her: thus: O queen of the goddesses, wherever thou goest let me go with thee! Then she made answer to thee: thus: I will protect thee! and I will march with thee at the time of the feast of Nebo. Meanwhile eat food, drink wine, make music, and glorify my divinity, until I shall come and this vision shall be fulfilled.

[*Henceforward the Seer appears to speak in his own person.*]

Thy heart's desire shall be accomplished. Thy face shall not grow pale with fear: thy feet shall not be arrested:* thou shalt not even scratch thy skin in the battle. In her benevolence she defends thee, and she is wra'h with all thy foes. Before her a fire is blown fiercely, to destroy thy enemies.

Notwithstanding defects of style and composition, which would be less apparent perhaps if the text were perfect, this narrative is a great improvement upon the dry annals of the earlier monarchs.

Addition to the Paper on Eclipses, page 13 of this Volume.

I take this opportunity to make some additions and corrections to my former papers. And first with regard to the eclipse of Tiumman, which I thought might possibly be important to chronology, I have received a letter from Dr. Oppert in which he informs me that it may be identified with considerable certainty with the eclipse which happened in the afternoon of June 27th B.C. 661. In this year therefore "the seventh warlike expedition" of Assurbanipal took place, which may help to fix the chronology of his reign. This information, of unexpected precision, induced me to review carefully the cuneiform documents which I had quoted, and I have made I think some important extensions and amendments in the translation of them. The first notice, as I have already stated, is contained in p. 118 of Mr. Smith's Assurbanipal, in which the main fact of the Eclipse is clearly mentioned, but some very obscure details are added, which I at first omitted as being of uncertain meaning. But I have now examined the whole passage, and I think the following is the probable meaning of it.

* Since this paper was presented to the Society M. Oppert has published a translation of this passage which agrees with mine. *Facies tua non pallescet, non lababunt pedes tui.* Mr. Smith had translated differently.

"In the month of Thammuz (or *Su* in Accadian) an Eclipse darkened the Ruler of the Day, the Lord of Light. And for three days the evening sun was darkened as on that day. To the king of Elam this betokened his death, but to me it was the best of omens and it did not fail.

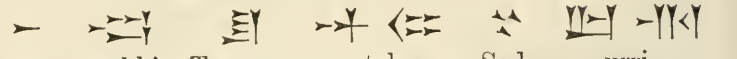
"In those days a fever attacked him, his lips swelled, his eyes grew dim, his liver was inflamed in its interior. Yet he desisted not because of these things which Assur and Ishtar had done to him, but he assembled his army to invade Assyria."

It is, no doubt, impossible that an eclipse should be repeated for three following days, but it is not impossible that, in a very ignorant age, the report of such a wonder having happened in Susiana should be believed in Assyria, at the distance of many hundred miles, and have been chronicled by a superstitious scribe.

Then follows the account of the Vision of the month *Ab* [July, the month immediately following the eclipse]. Assurbanipal had gone to Arbela, to attend the great festival of Ishtar of Arbela, when news was brought him of the great preparations of Tiumman for the invasion of Assyria. Alarmed at this news the king repaired to the temple of Ishtar, threw himself at the feet of the goddess, and sought her aid in a really eloquent prayer. Ishtar answered him favourably; and that same night a Seer was favoured with a magnificent vision which he related to the king the next day.

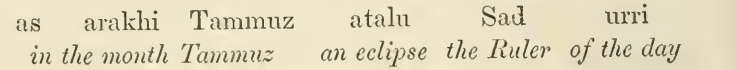
In the following month of Elul (or August) Assurbanipal took the field against Tiumman, and his army speedily achieved a brilliant victory. Tiumman was slain, and his head was sent to Nineveh. There is a bas relief in the British Museum representing a man driving a rapid car, and holding in his hand the head of a warrior, with this inscription *Kakkadu Tiumman*, THE HEAD OF TIUMMAN.

I will now give the original text of the first portion of this narrative, with interlinear version.



as arakhi Tammuz atalu Sad urri

in the month Tammuz an eclipse the Ruler of the day



Bil nuri ustaniḥ (mutavit colorem)

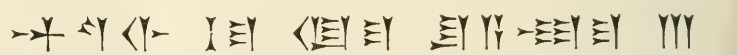
the Lord of light darkened.

Notes. *Sad* a Ruler. This word occurs frequently. It is the Heb. שד *Dominus.* It is sometimes written more fully *Sadú* or *Shadú* as in the following example. *Shadú rabu abi ili*, "the great king, the father of the gods."

Nur (light) occurs frequently on the tablets. This explanation of the phrase *sad urri bil nuri* is due to M. Oppert.

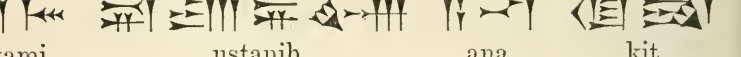
The verb *Ustaniḥ* signifies 'mutavit colorem.' It is the T conjugation of the Chald. שנא mutavit. Gesenius says: mutavit in pejus [de colore faciei]. Example: Daniel v, 6. "Then king Belshazzar's countenance was changed." Applied to the Sun it means, 'the Sun's face was changed or discoloured, *i.e.* darkened,' by the eclipse.

I now continue the translation.



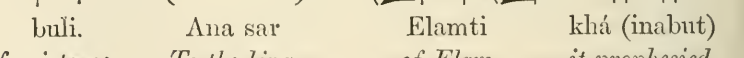
Samsi ereb kima suatu-ma salsi

The evening sun like that one three



tami ustaniḥ ana kit

*days was darkened unto the lowest point**



buli. (.....) Ana sar Elamti khá (inabut)

of existence. *To the king of Elam it prophesied*

* Compare the phrase "*as kakkar baladi*" [he sunk] to the ground (*i.e.* lowest point) of life. (Annals of Assurbanipal, p. 104.)

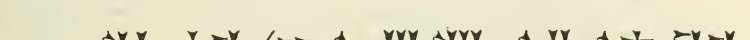
mat su (.....) anni ..... ishbar su,
his death *but* *unto me* *the best of* *omens* *it was,*

sha la inninu.
which *not* *failed.*

Notes. *Khá*, an Accadian word, which is explained in 2 R 48, 49 col. 3 by the Assyrian *nabutu* 'it prophesied' whence *munnabtu* 'a prophet.' The root is *nabu* 'to prophesy.'

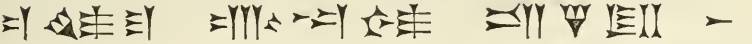
(pronunciation uncertain) means 'the best sort,' composed of the first or best, and *Zir*, race, sort or kind: the two signs being fused into one.

Ishbar (Omen) is a frequent word. From *sipar, sibar* or *sheber* to send a message, specially a heavenly message.

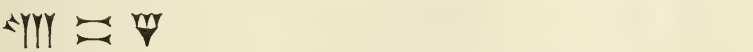


As tami-su-ma mikhru imkhar-su,
In those same days *a fever-attack* *attacked him,*

saput-zu uktakum-ma ini-su
his lips *swelled* *his eyes*



iskharu-ma gabat-zu issakin as
grew dim *his liver* *was inflamed* *in*



libbi-sa.
its interior.

Notes. *Mikhru* an evil chance, casualty, here an attack of illness. Heb. מקרה 'casus fortuitus.' *Imkhar-su* 'befel him:' from the same root מקר. 'An evil stroke struck him.'

Uktakum 'swelled.' The word *Ukkum* is frequent. When the king hears that a province has revolted, he generally says: "In the *ukkum* of my heart [swelling *i.e.* indignation] I collected my army," &c., &c. *Uktakum* is the T conjugation.

Iskharn 'grew dim' Heb. שחר obscurus.

Gabat for *Kabat* 'the liver. Heb. כבד jecur.

Issakin 'was inflamed' Arab. שחן inflammatus est, whence Heb. שחין 'ulcus' in Job, Exodus and Leviticus. Such is the account of the eclipse of the month of Thammuz, as given in the annals of Assurbanipal.

I now proceed to the dispatch of Kukuru the general, relative apparently to the same event. M. Oppert has pointed out to me that the words *ki asha ana pani*, &c., &c., which I took for the conclusion of the account, appear rather to be the beginning of a new subject; "*What I did formerly.*" If so, the translation requires to be entirely recast. It is correct as far as line 7 (see p. 16 of this vol.) "In the month *Su* (or *Thammuz*) an Eclipse happened." The rest may be translated as follows. I have already given the cuneiform text, so I omit it here.

8. Zabi-ya ana balathu sha mat Assur
my soldiers for the welfare of Assyria

9. as libbi-sun ainu: ana imni u sumili
in their hearts were concerned: (scattered) to the right and left

10. iltappar adû.
they watched the heavenly portent.

11. Tar sibriatati-sun
The bearer of these letters

12. sar lishalu sibti
let the king enquire (from him) the circumstances

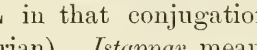
13. sha atali sha arkhi Su.
of the eclipse of the month Su.

NOTES.

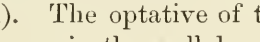
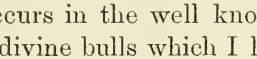
Line 9. *Ainu* 'they were concerned.' The Heb. verb און has that meaning. Furst thinks there is some relation between the verbs און and ענה. One meaning of the latter is 'to be anxious, or dispirited on account of some one.'

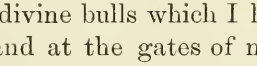
Line 10. *Iltappar adú*, they watched the phenomenon or heavenly sign. I think there can be no doubt of this translation. *Adú* is את or אות *signum*. Thus in Genesis ix, 13 the rainbow is set in the cloud as an אות or heavenly token. Dan. vi, 27. 'he worketh signs in heaven' אתין.

Iltappar is the same as *istappar* according to a very frequent change of S into L in that conjugation: (this usage is peculiar to the Assyrian). *Istappar* means 'they watched' (Heb. שבר to watch). The optative of this word (*listapru*, may they watch!) occurs in the well known passage (Opp. Khors. l. 190) "The divine bulls which I have had carved in stone, and which stand at the gates of my palace, day and night *may they watch over it*, and may their care never fail! *Immu u musa kireb-sun* LISTAPRU, *ai ipparku ida-sun!*

Line 11. *Sibriatati*  I suppose to mean 'letters' or 'dispatches' from *Sibri* 'letters' which is a not unusual word.

Tar from Ch. נתר 'to carry.' Schindler has 'transtulit.'

Line 12. *Lishalu*  'let him enquire.' Compare the same word, written  *Lishal* in the annals of Assurbanipal p. 249 "Basaza takes this letter, *let the king enquire* from him the latest news' *din-sun ḫarish lishal-su*. It is the Heb. שאל 'interrogavit.'

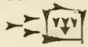
Sibti  Circumstances. I formerly read *Miti*, the sign being ambiguous, representing both *mi* and *sib*, causing frequent errors to the Assyrian student. *Sibti* (suggested by M. Oppert) is the Hebrew סב or סבה which Gesenius explains by *Umstand*. F. *Circonstance* from סבב circum-stare, cingere, circum-dare.

I have referred in p. 14 to a short bilingual sentence which is found in 2 R 16, 42, which I now think ought to be read and construed as follows :—

Fiká mat Sar lukul
Fiká bullut luskun.

Fruits of death should the king eat
Fruits of life may they prove to him!

It is therefore merely a good and loyal wish, or short prayer for the king, and is of no further importance.

Fiká apparently means 'fruits,' Arab. *faki* or *fwaki*. *Lukul* from the Heb. אכל to eat. The meaning is proved by the Accadian word which is  . I am obliged to Mr. Oppert for this remark.

ON THE

POLITICAL CONDITION OF EGYPT BEFORE THE REIGN OF RAMSES III;

Probably in Connection with the Establishment of the Jewish Religion.

FROM THE GREAT HARRIS PAPYRUS.

By Dr. August Eisenlohr,
Privatdocent of the Egyptian Language at the University of Heidelberg.

Read 4th June, 1872.

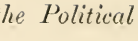
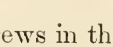
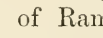
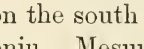
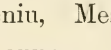
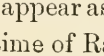
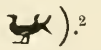
It has long been the object of Egyptologists to discover in the numerous Egyptian monuments still remaining in stone and papyrus, traces of the Israelites, which might show us the events related in the Old Testament from an Egyptian point of view.

So it was regarded as a great progress when Champollion detected on the south wall of the great temple of Ammon at Karnak, among the numerous enemies subdued by king Sheshonk, the name of Judah Melek, that is King of Judah. Nevertheless some Egyptian students acknowledge therein only the designation of some place in Palestine.[1] The Papyrus Anastasi I, of the time of Ramses the Great, furnished us with a whole series of Jewish localities, many of which are known to us from the Holy Scriptures, and in another document we have presented the actual account of the travels of an Egyptian Mohar (some kind of superintending officer),[2] or perhaps the poetic picture of the sufferings and toils of such an office.[3] M. Chabas thought he had dis-

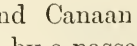
[1] Brugsch Geographie, ii, pp. 57 and 62.

[2] Chabas, Voyage d'un Egyptien, 1866.

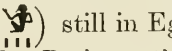
[3] De Rougé, Revue Arch., 1867; Brugsch, Revue Critique, 1867, Août—Sept.

covered the Hebrews in the designation of a foreign people, called Aperiu or Apru (Pap. Leide, 348, 
Pap. Leide, 349 ), who, like the Shardana and Kahak, that were engaged in the military service of the Pharaohs, were employed by the Egyptians in civil commissions. So we find the Aperiu occupied in dragging stones for a stronghold of Ramses II, probably on the eastern frontier of the land (Pap. Leide, 348), and we see them again making a basin[1] on the south of Memphis (Pap. Leide, 346). With the Seneniu, Mesuu, and Marinau, the Aprau () appear as a corps belonging to the temple of Heliopolis at the time of Ramses III (Great Harris Pap. 31, 8; Chabas Voy., p. 212). Already at the time of Tothmes III, we find between the numerous tribes of the upper Retennu, who have been captured in the town of Megiddo ( *Magda*) two different Apra () distinguished by the determinatives of the great and the small bird ().[2] De Rougé (Étude sur divers monuments du regne de Toutmès III), considers these two Apra as corresponding to the two Ophra עָפְרָה, which were situated in Manasse and in Benjamin. That we are not wrong to search for the land Canaan and the Hebrews among the Retennu is proved by a passage in the Great Harris Papyrus (IX, 1—3), where it is said by Ramses III: "I have erected to thee (the god Ammon) a secret house in the land of Djaha like the horizon of the heaven, the House Ramses hak An in Kanana as an abode of thy name. I sculptured thy great statue reposing in its interior; the land Sati () of the Retennu these come to it with their tributes."

But under Tothmes III the Hebrews, if we understand by

[1] This passage has been erroneously translated by M. Chabas (Mélanges ii, 148), "Qui trainent la pierre pour le soleil du soleil."  *Athu se pe ra* means: to make a basin of Ra as athu mennu (Great Harris, 79, 10): to erect habitations. We know also, a basin of Khonsu (Brugsch, Wörterbuch, p. 1361).

[2] See De Rougé, Album Photographique, pl. 51, 52.

this designation the descendants of Jacob, had been already a long time in Egypt, and can therefore not be identified with these Apra. Under Ramses IV, whose reign began certainly forty years later than the exodus of the Israelites, we find the Aperu ( ) still in Egypt. These Aperu, denoted as belonging to the Petiu antiu ( , *auxiliaries*), are ordered, to the number of eight hundred men, to form part of a large colony in the valley of Hamamat (cf. Lepsius, Denkmaeler III, 219). It therefore seems rather hazardous to identify completely the Aperiu with the Hebrews of the Bible, though we have an analogous case in the Shardanas, who at the same time constituted a body of auxiliaries in the Egyptian army, and were a nation, with which Egypt had been in war.

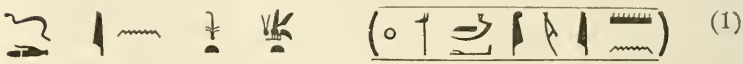
Efforts have not been wanting also to discover some reference to the events of the Exodus in the Egyptian records, especially in some of the Sallier and Anastasi Papyri. Mr. Heath's learned work on the so-called "Exodus Papyri," deserves due acknowledgment, but his interpretations will not stand a severe criticism; and to day, instead of reading in these Papyri the story of the Exodus, we use some of them to picture forth the time of these events.

M. Lauth (Moses der Ebraeer, 1868) would contribute to the biography of Moses by the comparison of two papyri (Anastasi I. of the British and Pap. 350 of the Leyden Museum). The latter, the diary of an officer, contains a rather illegible passage, in which M. Lauth read the accusation of Hui, a theodule, against another priest (*soten*) called Mesu, who had taken a bath in the Aolath, and had eaten fishes, which was forbidden to priests. As the Mohar, the hero of the I. Anastasi, is described (27, 3, 4) as one having eaten fishes and taken a bath in some water, whose name is destroyed, M. Lauth transferred all that was related of the Mohar to this *Mesu*, whom he considered to be nobody other than Moses himself. Ingenious as this combination was, it was not accepted by the men of science.

But should we really despair of finding in Egyptian accounts anything relating to the events which, however they may be presented in the Biblical narratives, yet at any

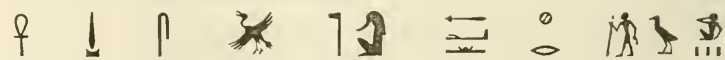
rate gave rise to the establishment of a new religion, and to the emigration of a great people? I was of this opinion till the winter of 1869-70, when I was permitted to study in Alexandria the Great Papyrus which the late A. C. Harris obtained during one of his journeys in the valley of the Nile, just as it was discovered by the Arabs, with a great number of other papyri, in the rubbish of a tomb behind the temple of Medinet-Abu. This Papyrus, the most beautiful, best preserved, and largest of any yet discovered, has now been, I am happy to state, recommended for purchase by the Trustees of the British Museum. It consists of 79 great leaves of 51 to 42½ centimetres. The Papyrus contains the history of the exploits of Ramses III, dated in the thirty-second year of his reign. It is in the form of a royal address to the officers of the government and the people. After a long enumeration of all that the king has spent on the gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, and the other gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, in buildings and offerings, the last five sheets are filled with the account of his wars, maritime expeditions, and the colonisation of the peninsula of Sinai. As an introduction to this account the king relates his accession to the throne and the occurrences which preceded this event. As this text is of historical value, I may be permitted to quote it verbally, transcribed from the hieratic into hieroglyphics and accompanied by the transliteration and interlinear translation.

Leaf 75.—Line 1.

 (1)

djet an suten sekhet ra user ma mer amon

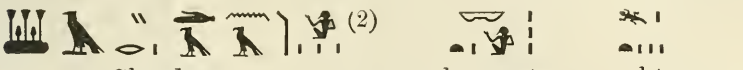
Said by the King (*Sun strong by Truth, beloved by Ammon*)



ankh udja seneb pa neter aa kher uaruu

life, welfare, health, the god great to princes

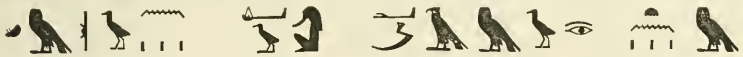
hautiu	na	ta	menfiu	entheterau
governors	*of*	*land*	*archers*	*horsemen*



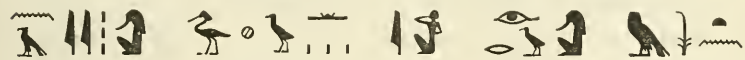
Shardanau	shermertu	ashtu
Shardana	*allies*	*numerous*

Line 2.

anch u	neb	na	ta	en	tamera
living	*all*	*of*	*land*	*of*	*Tamera (Egypt)*



sotemunu	dua	amamu	tenu em
Hearken	*I let*	*see*	*you (on)*

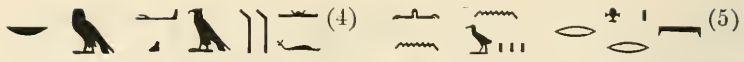


naiu	akhuu	a	arua	em suten
my	*exploits*	*which I*	*performed*	*as King*

en	rekhiu	un	pa	ta	en
of	*men.*	*It was*	*the*	*land*	*of*

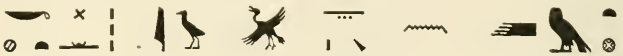
Line 3.

Kem	kha	em	ruti	sa
Egypt	*thrown*	*outwards*		*man*



neb em akaf an nuu rohar
every at his pleasure not (was) to them a head

renpetu kennuu kher hat er hauu
years numerous having preeminence over matters



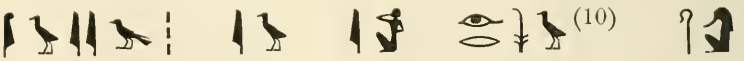
ketechu au pa ta en Kem
other. Was the land of Egypt

Line 4.

em uaruu em autu ua semamu
to princes in districts one killed

sonf em bua shuau Kii
his second in envy of power. Other

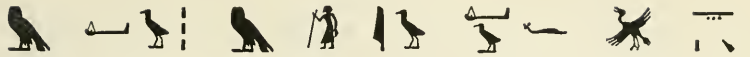
hauu kheperu hasaf em renpetu
events took place thereafter in years



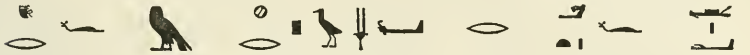
shuiu au a arsu hek
distressing had made himself chief

ua Khara
one Chara

Line 5.



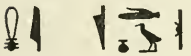
em duu em uar au duf pa ta
among them as prince he brought the land



terf em kherpu er hatf ua
whole in subjection to his conduct sole

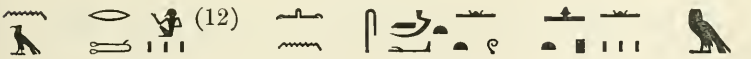
samuf ketiuf (11) hura
he assembled his companions plundered

kherutuu au a aruu na neteru
their treasures. *They made the gods*



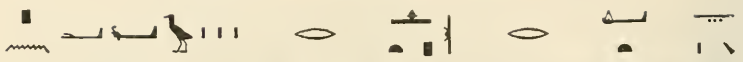
ma ketenu
in likeness (of)

Line 6.



na retu (12) an semattu hotepu em
the men not were presented offerings in

khennu raupauu kher ar na neteru
interior (of) temples. *There were the gods*

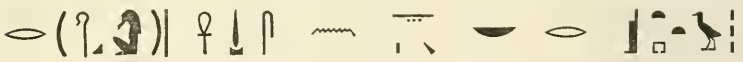


penauu er hotep er dut ta
overturned to lie down on ground

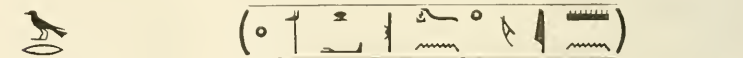
akat ma sekerf merti
his pleasure like his plan in harmony.

Line 7.

ausenu smen sa senu pir em hatsenu
They appointed their son arising from their limbs



er hek a. u. s. en ta neb er setuu
to prince l. w. h. of land every on their seat

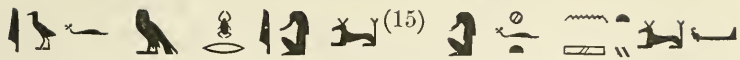


uar ra user sha sotepenra meramon
the great Sun rich in diadem chosen by Ra, beloved by Amon,

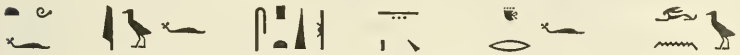
a. u. s. sa ra ra set nekht merer amonmeri
l. w. h. son of Ra (Sun, valiant Seti loving, beloved by Amon)

a. u. s.
l. w. h.

Line 8.



auf em Khepera sutekh (15) kheft neshti
He was as Khepera-Sutekh in his tem-



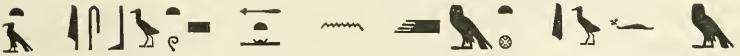
tuf auf sept ta terf unu
pest he put in order land whole (which) was

beshetu auf semat na
revolted he executed the

khauku (16) unu em ta mera
abominables (who) were in the land Mera

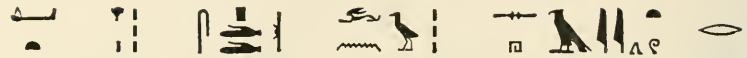
auf sāb
he purified

Line 9.



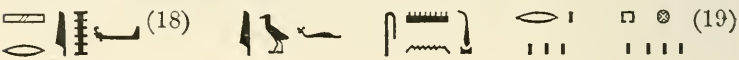
ta asbutu aat en Kem auf em
the throne great of Egypt he was as

hek a. u. s. tati er se tum auf
chief l. w. h. of both lands at the place of Tum. He

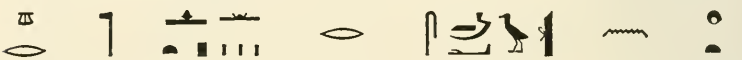


dut hiu sepded unuu sehaitu er
made the faces upright (which) were perverted to . . .

(am)amu sa neb sonf unuu
recognise man every his brother (what)



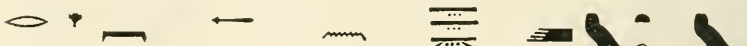
shera auf smen raupau
was decayed he set up the temples



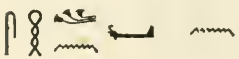
kher neter hotepu er semau en paut
with the offerings for serving the nine

neteru ma entausenu auf dehenia
gods according to their institutions. He designated me

er erpat em se sebu aua
for crown-prince on the seat of Seb I am



rohar aa en tau Kem em
head great of the lands of Egypt in

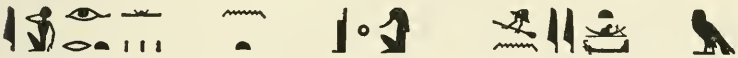


sehan en
administration of

Leaf 76.—Line 1.

ta	terf	demd	em	ba	ua	auf	hotep
land	*whole*	*together*	*at*	*once*		*he*	*set*

em	akhutituf	ma	paut	neteru	arunef
in his	*horizon*	*like the nine gods. Were made to him*			



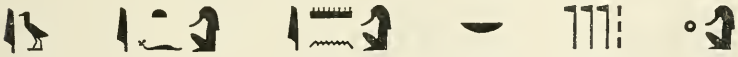
aartu	ent	asra	khenit	em
the ceremonies	*of*	*Osiris*	*navigating*	*in*

paif	suten	uaa	ha	tep
his	*royal*	*bark*	*on the surface*	

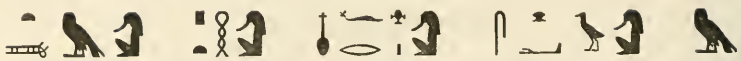
ateru
of the river

Line 2.

hotep	em	het	tuf	heh	amenti
he descended to		*his*	*house eternal in the west of Thebes.*		



au	atef	amon	neb	neteru	ra
The father		*Ammon,*	*lord of*	*the gods,*	*Ra,*



tum ptah neferha sshaua em
Tum, Phah the good looking, they elevated me to

neb tati er se uteta shepa
lord of both lands upon the seat of my engenderer. I took

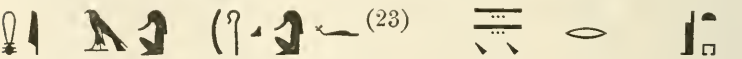
aa en atef
the dignity of the father

Line 3.

em ahahaiu au ta hotep
with exultation. The land was pacified.

unf hu kher hotepu auu resh
It was enjoying on offerings. They were

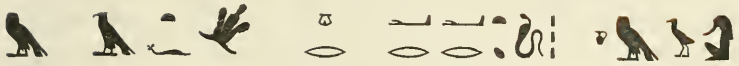
tuu en maa em hek a. u. s. tati
delighted on seeing me as chief l. w. h. of both



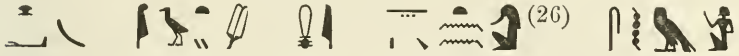
ma har hekf tati er se
lands like Horus who rules both lands on the seat of

asra shauk
Osiris adorned with

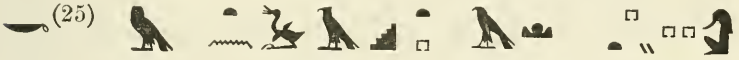
Line 4.



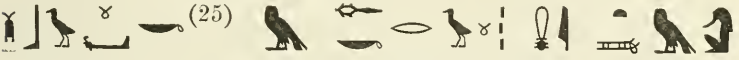
em atef kher araru khnuma
the *crown* *and the* *snake diadems.* *I put on*



sha shuti ma tatenen (26) snodjem
the attire of the two feathers like Tatenen, *sitting*

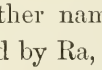


k em tendja har akhuti
down *on the* *throne* *of* *Harmakhis,*



tebuk m khekeruu ma tum
clothed *with* *ornaments* *like* *Tum.*

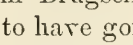
Explanatory Remarks.

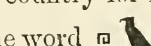
1. Though there is employed (75, 1) only one of the cartouches of Ramses III, there can be no doubt that the speaker is not the king Ramses II, who had the same prenomen, but Ramses III, Hek An. In many other passages of the Papyrus, especially in the exordium (1, 1), both his names are used. His other name  *Ramses Hek An*, means engendered by Ra, prince of An (Heliopolis). The king received this name probably on account of the numerous presents he offered to the temples of Heliopolis, which fill not less than nineteen plates of the Papyrus (pl. 24—42).

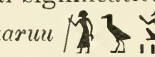
2. *The Shardana*, prisoners taken from the people of Shardana, who appear among the enemies of Ramses III, constituted a corps of auxiliaries in the Egyptian army.

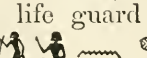
3. The literal translation of *kha em ruti*, is, "thrown out." This meaning is proved by the citations in Brugsch's Dictionary, p. 852. The sense must be here, to have gone to ruin, to decay.

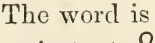
4. *Sa neb em akaf*, every one at his pleasure, means there was no law in vigour, every one did what he liked.

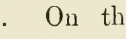
5. The word  *rohar* is probably the same with (Brugsch Wörtb., p. 833) *ro*, or also *rohar*, platform ceiling (not atrium). The meaning of the word, which occurs again in the last line of plate 75; the uppermost, the chief, the head, is not doubtful. There was no common head of the country for many years.

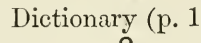
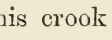
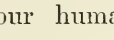
6. For the word  *hauu*, the adopted acceptation, *time*, is not applicable, l. 3. We must give the word a more general signification: circumstances, events, &c.

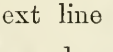
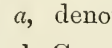
7. The *uaruu*  , are the highest officers in military and in civil services as well as the princes of foreign nations. We have an *uar en cheta*, prince of the Cheta, (3 Sall. 4, 3), *uar uen punt*, princes of Punt (Dümichen, Histor. Inschriften II, Taf. 14), *uar en libu* prince of the Libu (Menephtah text, l. 13).

As a high position in the army we meet the *uaru* (3 Sall. V, 2; Great Harris Pap., 75, 1). A royal prince has the functions of *uar en madjaiu*, chief of the life guard (Lepsius, Königsbuch, 418). The *uar en nut*  is the commandant of the town (Papyrus Abbot Maspero, 13, 6), and in the judicial trial the *uaru*, sometimes with the apposition of *aaiu* (the great) is the collective name of the magistrates (Pap. Abbott Masp., p. VIII, 3, and p. IX; Pap. Judic. Turin. p. IV, 1, 2). We are therefore right to draw from all these applications the acceptation of *prince* or *chief*.

8. Much depends on the understanding of the group  The word is an uncommon one. The first sign is in the hieratic text equally written with the in *hek*, chief, and similar also to the determinative of foreign

nations (pl. 66 and 77 of the Great Harris Pap.) . But the head of the crook in our sign is more curved backwards, than in the determinative of foreign nations, so that we prefer the transcription to . On the reading of the group we cannot be doubtful, if we compare the examples which Brugsch in his Dictionary (p. 1719) has put together; *aut* is the name of this crook , but also the name of the goat and of the four human races  *autuu ra* (Sarcophagus Seti I, plate VII, 1). With the determinative of town we find it only here. The Coptic ⲁⲟⲩⲟⲧ, ⲁⲩⲏⲧ *habitatio*, is possibly the same. It is not probable that we have in the word an allusion to the Shepherds (goats), but we understand by *uauru m autu* the independent chiefs of the principal towns or districts.

9.  *bua-shua* is a homophony. The word  combined with occurs (Denk. III, 72, 12) as a kind of priest,  *archon*,[1] *chief* (Prisse, Monument XXIX; Rhind Papyri, 32*c*.) So we may be allowed to see in the combined word *bua-shua* the invidious struggle for supremacy.

10. We shall perhaps be blamed for not translating the passage *au a arsu hek ua chara*, by "he made himself the only chief a Syrian:" or, "he made himself chief one Syrian;" but only the following words *em duu em uar* inform us what the Syrian made himself, *i.e.* a prince (*uar*) among them. We are therefore obliged to take *hek ua chara* as the subject of the sentence. I cannot omit directing the reader's attention to the form  which we find also in the next line  . The prefixed syllable *a*, denotes sometimes the imperative (cf. Brugsch, Hierogl. Grammatik, p. 56, 184; Schwarze, Copt. Grammatik, ed. Steinthal, § 172). But it occurs also in relative and participial forms, as (Pap. Orbiney, XI, 8)

[1] Birch, Dictionary.

 The people were coming into the country (Brugsch, Gram. p. 20). It is true that we find it very often before the verb (*ex. gr.*, Pap. Orbiney, VI, 8; IX, 9; Chabas, Pap. Magique, p. 119), so that Dr. Brugsch makes a verbal form of it (cf. Brugsch, Wörterbuch, p. 97, and Einleitung VIII). I believe this *a*, gives here sometimes to the following verb the character of a præterite. We find this *a* with perfect character still in the Coptic language (cf. Schwartze, Copt. Grammatik, ed. Steinthal, § 148).

11. *Ketiu*, are labourers or followers. The negligence of the Egyptian writer in the application of suffixed pronouns is evidently shown by the pronominal annex of *Kheru*, which seems to point at the *Ketiu*, while we can only refer it to the inhabitants of the country.

12. The sentence, *au a aruu na neteru ma ketenu na retu*, "they made the gods like the human beings," can have no other meaning than they degraded the gods, they held them in no peculiar veneration, they abolished the service of the gods. Two special moments of this degradation are exhibited: no more sacrifices were brought, and the gods, *i.e.*, their statues, were subverted, so that they lay on the ground. The preposition *r tet, on*, may complete the list of compound prepositions in Brugsch's Hier. Grammar. p. 91.

13. The phrase, *akaf ma sekherf merti*, "his pleasure like his plan in harmony," denote the capricious way in which the usurper devised and executed his plans. We find as before a sudden change of the pronoun in singular to the pronoun in plural, and again to the singular, so now (l. 7) the plural *ausenu* begins the new sentence. This cannot refer to the rioters, but only to the gods, who were laid down on the ground. As the speaker did not distinguish between the gods and their statues, he can ascribe the installation of the new king to the same gods whom he has just let fall down.

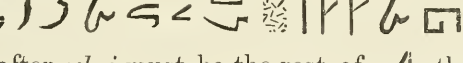
14. The expression, *pir em hat senu*, is the peculiar phrase for divine origin, so that it is not possible to regard the new

king Seti nekht as the son of the rioters, as might appear at sight.

15. The name Khepera-Sutekh is a compound of the names of two gods, like the name Ammon-Ra. This compound name seems to invest the god Sutekh with the power of generation.

16. The *Khauku*, are the wretches, abominable criminals. The king uses this strong word to express his abhorrence of the sacrilegious faction.

17. There is a hiatus in the text after the word *sehaitu*. In the hieratic original we find the passage thus:



The stroke after *sehai* must be the rest of , the reversed feet   can belong to *sehai*, as participle passive; the following sign might be er, *ad*, so that. Of the first two letters are wanting, which may be found in . Then we have: preverted to . . . . recognise. The is in reference to *auf tet hiu septet*. If we refer it to *sehaitu* we must interpolate an *not*, for what remains indeed a vacant space.

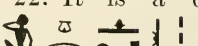
18. *there* is *decayed*, *ruined*. So also must be translated the word in the two passages of the Abydos text (Maspero, l. 16, 53), not *zumauern*, "wall up" (Brugsch. Wörterbuch), but *einreissen*, "knock down."

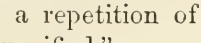
19. *rau pau* is an example of a double plural; both words, which denote *erpe*, temple, are put in the plural form.

20. The word *teheni*, appears here with the uncommon determinative of the *inkstand* instead of the *head* . It seems that the designation of the royal successor was performed by a written act.

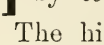
21. *ahahaiu* (also pl. 78, 10 of the Papyrus) is the reduplicated form of (Brugsch.

Wörterbuch, p. 108), with the intensified meaning of exultation.

22. It is a question whether we should translate  *hu kher hotepu*, "enjoying in peace," or "enjoying on (with) offerings." In the former case it is only a repetition of the foregoing *au ta hotep*, "the land was pacified."

23.  *hekf* is used here as a verb, nevertheless it takes the enclosure of a king's name.

24. I have transcribed the sign by *se* in the word *seat*, and by *as* in the word *Osiris*. The hieratic makes a distinction between in the word *seat* and in the word *Asra*.

25. I wish to draw attention to the or  *k* or *kua*, which recurs here three times. It can be nothing else than the form of the participle present of the first person of singular. M. Chabas, who calls this ' paragogic,' has pointed out good proofs of it in his Voyage (Vocabul., No. 354).

The translated passage of the Papyrus contains the interesting story of a political and religious revolution, which was suppressed by Seti nekht, the father of Ramses III.

"Thus saith the King Ra user ma mer amon, life, welfare, health, the great god, to the princes, the governors of the land, to the archers, the horsemen, the Shardana, numerous allies, to every living person of the land of Ta-Mera. Hearken. I let you see my mighty acts which I have performed as king of men. The land of Egypt was in a state of ruin. Every man did as he liked. There was no head to them for many years, who might preside over other matters. The land of Egypt belonged to the princes in the districts. One killed the other through envy of power. Other events took place thereafter in years of distress. One Syrian chief had made himself a prince among them. He brought the whole land into subjection under his sole rule. He assembled his com-

panions, plundered the treasures of the inhabitants. They made the gods like the human beings. Offerings were no longer presented in the interior of the temples. The images of the gods were thrown down and remained on the ground. His pleasure was in harmony with his plan. They (the gods) appointed their son, the issue of their limbs, to be prince l. w. h. of the whole land on their seat, the great Ra user sha sotep en ra mer amon l. w. h. the son of Ra, Ra *Seti nekht* merer amonmeri, l. w. h. He was Khepera-Sutekh in his tempest. He arranged the whole land which had revolted. He executed the criminals who were in the land Mera. He purified the great throne of Egypt. He was chief of both lands at the place of Tum. He made the faces upright, which were perverted, so that everyone recognised his brother. What was decayed he set up, the temples with their divine revenues in order to offer to the nine gods according to their regulations. He designated me as crown prince on the seat of Seb. I am the great head of the lands of Egypt in the administration of the whole land together at once. He set in his horizon like the nine gods. There were made to him the ceremonies of Osiris navigating in his royal bark on the surface of the river. He descended to his eternal house in the west of Thebes. The father Ammon, the lord of the gods, Ra, Tum, the good-looking Ptah, they elevated me to the lord of both lands upon the seat of my engenderer. I received the dignity of the father with exultation. The land was pacified. It was enjoying on offerings. They were delighted on seeing me as chief, l. w. h. of both lands in the same manner as Horus rules both lands on the seat of Osiris, adorned with the crown and the snake diadems. I put on the attire of the two feathers like Tatenen, sitting down on the throne of Harmakhis, clothed with ornaments like Tum."

Thus we learn from our text that *Ramses hek an* was the son of *Setinekht*. This was already supposed by De Rougé (Stéle Égyptienne, p. 189). A stelè in the Museum at Bulaq (Mariette Catalogue, No. 544) had made this supposition more likely, for in the upper part of this stelè the king Ramses III is represented making an offering to Osiris,

Horus, and Isis; and in the lower part a person named Mersatef is suppliant to the king Seti nekht and his royal wife Tii mer ast. This latter is called also the royal mother, so that we are right in believing she was the mother of the king Ramses III.

The succession and filiation between Ramses hek an and Ramses hek ma is equally confirmed by different passages of the same Papyrus,[1] where the king Ramses hek an recommends his son and successor to his subjects, and requests the blessing of the gods upon him.

After the long and glorious reign of Ramses II followed his son Menephtah I Hotephimat, whose reign was troubled by the invasion of the Libu and Mashuash, who were dwelling in the west of Egypt, and of their allies on the Mediterranean Sea.[2] The king succeeded in defeating his enemies, killing a great number of them and conquering a rich booty. This was for some time the last great triumph of the Egyptian arms. The successor of Menephtah I, Seti II Menephtah, appears to have occupied his father's throne a very short time, as we find no higher date than his second year.[3] Under, or after him, must have arisen a revolution which resulted in the anarchy which the text describes in the passage: "There was no head to them for many years, who might preside over other matters." We have no intelligence whether this anarchy was produced by the expiration of the dynasty, or by the dethronement of king Seti II; but as we find afterwards the same name, Ramses, which belonged to two of the kings of this dynasty, occurring as the name of about ten monarchs of the next; and as Ramses III, in the enumeration of his predecessors, joins his father Seti nekht immediately to Seti II, it is highly probable that the kings of the XXth dynasty were the direct descendants of the former one. It would be of great interest to know what were the occurrences which produced the anarchy referred to. The Harris Papyrus tells us nothing

[1] Cf. Gr. Harris 79, 6; 22, 4; 42, 10; 56, 9.

[2] Cf. De Rougé Attaques dirigées contre l'Egypte, etc.; Rev. Arch., N.S. XVI, p. 35.

[3] Brugsch, Histoire, p. 179.

about that, and we can only guess from some passages in the Anastasi Papyri, that there were combats in the land of Khara (Syria) which ended in this state of confusion. The people of Khara inhabited the east of Egypt (according to a notice in the very mutilated first page of Papyrus Anastasi III) between Djor and Aup.[1] The general disorder of the country is indicated by the remark, that everyone did as he liked, that the land belonged to the *uaru* in the districts, who killed each other through envy of power. And we have seen above, that we must understand by these *uaru em autu* the chiefs or commandants of the principal towns or districts. It is probable that these chiefs existed also under the monarchical sceptre of the kings, but that now they had become independent. To this political crisis there is a very strong analogy in the story of the incursions of the Assyrian kings into Egypt, which is recorded on the cuneiform cylinders of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. The former king Esarhaddon instituted no less than twenty kings on the Egyptian thrones, who are met with again in the narrative of the conquest by Piankhi on the Barkal Stelè.

This state of polyarchy, however, was of no long standing. There occurred other distressing events, which elevated a Syrian chief as prince among them. I think "among them" must be referred to the chiefs of the different towns, which till then were independent. This Syrian chief brought the whole land into subjection. He assembled his companions, plundered the properties, abolished the old religion with its numerous sacrifices, overturned the statues of the gods, and did just as he liked.

It would be of the highest interest if our further studies could tell us who this Syrian was, who is now met with for the first time in the annals of Egyptian history.

Though, as I have shown, Ramses III did not acknowledge as his predecessors any monarch between Seti II and Seti nekht, yet there are certain indications of the reigns of other kings in this interval. At the valley of Biban el moluk, where repose the kings of the XIXth and XXth

[1] Cf. Chabas, Voyage, p. 97.

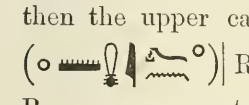
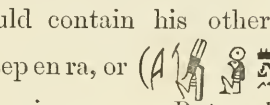
dynasty, are also found the tombs of two other kings, Amonmeses, and Menephtah Siptah, with his wife Tauser. These seem to correspond to the Amenemnes and the Thuoris (Tauser), who appear as the two last monarchs of the XIXth dynasty in the extracts of Manetho by Africanus and Eusebius. The tomb of Siptah and of his wife Tauser (No. 14) was afterwards appropriated by Setinekht, not by Seti II, as Champollion believed, confounding the very similar cartouches of Ra user shau ( ) and Ra user cheperu ( ).[1] Siptah must therefore be placed before Seti nekht, but not before Seti II, while that Amonmeses also came before Setinekht and Ramses III, is proved by the peculiar disposition of the tomb of this latter Pharoah (No. 11) in relation to the neighbouring tomb of Amonmeses (No. 10). The tomb of Ramses III goes at first straight forward, but afterwards makes a bend to the right to avoid breaking into the sepulchre of Amonmeses. Hence the tomb of the latter must have been finished before the excavation of the tomb of Ramses III.[2] There remain very few monuments of these interpolated kings, Amonmeses and Siptah, but in the rich collection of antiquities which the antiquary and silversmith, J. Mayer, of Liverpool, presented to his town, is a large stone of libation with the names and titles of Amonmeses; his other name, Ra men ma sotep en ra ( ), is twice erased. On this stone it is said of the king, that he established both countries, and that he was great in miracles at Thebes.

In the colonnade of the temple of Seti I, at Gurnah,[3] is represented an adoration to the god Ammonra and to three royal figures, the queen Ahmes neferatri, the king Seti I, and his son the king Ramses II. The name of the offering king has been erased and replaced by the cartouche of king Siptah. On both sides of the inscription below were also royal names; at the right is now to

[1] Champollion, Notices, p. 451 ; De Rougé, Stele, p. 186.

[2] Wilkinson in Murray's Handbook of Egypt, p. 354, No. 11.

[3] Lepsius, Denkmaeler III 201 *c*.

be seen the other name of Siptah (Khu sotep en ra), and at the left are two other cartouches, which may have contained the names of the dedicator of the monument. The lower of these cartouches shows a name which we can read *Ramses hek uas*, Ramses prince of Thebes, but also *Amonmeses* prince of Thebes. As there is no Ramses with the epithet *hek uas*, it is probable that we have here one of the names of Amonmeses. Thus then the upper cartouche should contain his other name  Ra men ma sotep en ra, or  Ra men ma sotep en ra meriamon. But what is to be seen of this cartouche in Lepsius Denkmaeler has this form which resembles the cartouche of Seti I Ramenma, but cannot represent the name of Amonmeses, because never replaces , while for the larger legend Ra men ma sotep en ra there is not room enough. So there still remains some doubt if we have really existing there the names of Amonmeses, which his successor Siptah began to erase and replace by its own.

On an inscription at Silsilis (Denkmaeler III, 202*a*), a high functionary, named Baï, is praised that he had "elevated the king Siptah to the throne of his father." So the father of Siptah must have been a king too, and perhaps just as Amonmeses was his father. The inscription of the above-quoted representation at the Gurnah temple, which may be ascribed originally to Amonmeses, states that the king was brought up by the goddess Isis in a place called Hakheb which was a town on the Nile near to Benisuef, now called El h'ebe (Brugsch, Geogr. I, 230). The king Siptah assumes in that inscription the standard name of *Sha em kheb*, "risen at Kheb," so that both kings came from the same

town, which would strengthen the supposition that they might have been father and son.

I have given this long and not unnecessary exposition to exhibit all that the Egyptian documents offer for the identification of the Syrian chief, the hero of this Papyrus, from which it appears that one of the interpolated kings, Amonmeses, or Siptah, might be held to be the Syrian. There are, it must be stated, some objections which might be raised against this thesis.

First of all, as I have just shown, Amonmeses and Siptah came from the town of Hakheb, which seems contrary to the supposition that one of them might have been the Syrian hero, because Hakheb is a place in Higher Egypt. But we know that all the kings of Egypt considered the king Horus as their model. The birth and education of Horus by his mother Isis was effected at Hakheb,[1] so that the designation "as educated and risen at Hakheb," might mean no other than that these kings were the real followers of Horus on the throne of Egypt. Then, again, it seems strange to find the tomb of the revolter and sacrilegist in the same valley, where the legitimate kings repose; but in an adjoining branch of the same valley is also found the tomb of king Ai, who was in an equal degree an unorthodox king, as he belonged to the worshippers of Atenra; this king was not forbidden to excavate his sepulchre in the royal burying place, and it is known at least of one of the unorthodox sovereigns (Siptah), that his tomb was afterwards appropriated by his vanquisher Setinekht, and the pictures of himself and of his wife painted over.

However, I must not proceed further in my deduction without calling my reader's attention to the striking analogy in which our text stands to a narration which Josephus, the Jewish historian, found in Manetho's work, and inserted in his polemical treatise contra Apionem (I, 26).

It is there related, that a certain king Amenophis was desirous of seeing the gods, just as a former king Horus did. A soothsayer of the same name, Amenophis, who was consulted by the king respecting this desire, gave him for an

[1] Champollion, Notices, p. 173.

answer that the king's desire should be fulfilled, when he had cleared the land of lepers and of all other unclean persons. So the king commanded all persons afflicted with such diseases to assemble together, and then sent them, to the number of 80,000, into the quarries on the east of the Nile (probably at Tura, near Cairo) to undergo compulsory labour. This the gods had forbidden, and threatened that, after a battle with the unclean, the latter would possess themselves of the land, and would govern it for thirteen years. So the king removed the people from the work in the quarries, and directed them to go to Avaris, which had been the residence of the Shepherds before their expulsion from Egypt. There the unclean chose a priest of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph, as their leader. He gave them commandments to worship the gods no longer, nor to refrain from killing and eating the animals held sacred by the Egyptians. Then he fortified the city of Avaris and prepared war against Amenophis. For this purpose he called to his aid from Jerusalem 200,000 of the Shepherds, who had been formerly driven out of Egypt under Tethmosis. Amenophis, not daring to attack so large an army, sent his son Sethos, or Ramses, a child of five years old, to a friend, and fled to Memphis, and from thence to the King of Ethiopia. Now the Shepherds or Solymites began to burn and ravage the land, to defile the temples, and to compel the priests to eat of the flesh of the sacrifices. The rebel-leader, Osarsiph, who was born at Heliopolis, and had formerly been priest of Osiris at that place, now changed his name into that of Moses. Afterwards the king Amenophis and his son Ramses, returned from Ethiopia with great forces, conquered the Shepherds and the unclean people, drove them out of the country, and pursued them to the frontier of Syria. In respect of these names, it must be observed that the son of Amenophis is once called Sethos, as also was Ramses, at another time he is called only Ramses. It is highly probable, however, that Seti nekht is really intended, to whom was applied by oversight the name of Ramses III, who followed him in the royal lists.

Chaeremon and Lysimachus[1] give the same account in

[1] Josephus contra Apionem, I, 32-35.

all essential respects as Manetho, with a few modifications only. According to Chaeremon, the consort of Amenophis gave birth to her son Ramses in her flight, and he, when grown up, drove out the Jews to the number of 200,000 men into Syria. Lysimachus, the historian, places the event under the reign of king Bocchoris, who reigned much later; and makes Moses order his followers to destroy the temples and altars of the gods. In fact, he states that the city of Jerusalem derived its name from the Greek word *ἱεροσυλα*, which signifies "temple spoils," and that this name was afterwards changed into *Ἱεροσολυμα*.

The authenticity of the account of Josephus is not to be doubted, for if he had not found the story in Manetho, he would not have thought it necessary to denounce it as an absurdity and a lie. The circumstance of the lepers did not agree with his high estimation of the Jews, and with his theory of the identity of the Israelites with the Hykshos, which he needed to evidence the high antiquity of his nation.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the resemblances between the account of Josephus and of the Harris Papyrus. It is true that the whole introduction of the king's desire to view the gods, and of the consequent banishment of the impure men into the quarries, is not to be found in the Papyrus; and there is also depicted in the Papyrus a different condition of the kingdom. In it is not seen a king fleeing away before an insurrection; for long years there is an anarchy in the land; the chiefs of the districts become independent; and only after another change of events does a Syrian chief usurp the supremacy. Manetho's rebelling chief is no Syrian, but a priest of Heliopolis, with a good Egyptian name, Osarsiph (*child of Osiris*). Also, it can scarcely be doubted, that Manetho places his story in the reign of the follower of Ramses II, Menephtah I, whom he calls Amenophis or Amenophath.[1] In the position of this Amenophis the extracts of Africanus, Eusebius, and Josephus (contra Apionem I, 15) are harmonious. On the contrary, the Syrian's dominion is abolished by Seti nekht, between whom and Menephtah I there is still the reign of Seti II.

[1] Africanus.

But the proof which seems to me conclusive for the identification of both accounts, is the manner in which the revolution itself is therein described. There is not a simple political change of regimen, but a combination of political and religious innovations. In the Harris Papyrus is related: "The Syrian assembled his companions and ransacked the property; the gods were made equal to the men; no more sacrifices were offered in the interior of the temples; the statues of the gods were overturned, laying on the floor." And Josephus, according to Manetho, says: "Osarsiph gave them a law no more to venerate the gods, nor to abstain themselves from the animals held sacred in Egypt." According to Lysimachus, Moses plainly gave orders to destroy the temples and altars of the Egyptian gods.

As it is not to be presumed that two revolutions of like character took place in so short a space of time, I am induced to see in the speech of the Egyptian king the same events which have been related by Manetho and Josephus described in a somewhat different manner.

It has for a long time been accepted by Egyptologists that the narration of Josephus refers really to the establishment of the Jewish religion and to the Exodus of the Israelites.[1] If such is the case, and if Osarsiph, the chief of the rebels, be really Moses, which we understand was Manetho's opinion, then, accepting the supposition that both accounts treat of the same events, we seem obliged to take also the Syrian chief for no other than Moses himself.

However, trying to carry on this identification, we find some want of congruence between Manetho and the Papyrus on one side and the Holy Scriptures on the other. Moses did not abolish simply the sacrifices, as is related of Osarsiph and of the Syrian chief, but he altered the service which he found in Egypt. He did not entirely abolish the worship of the Egyptian gods, but substituted in their stead that of a single divinity, a dogma which already formed a part of the Hykshos' religion, who recognised one deity, under the name of Set or Sutech. However,

[1] See Lepsius, Chronologie, p. 317, et seq.; Brugsch, Histoire d'Egypte, p. 176; Unger, Chronologie des Manetho, p. 208, et seq.

to the hostile Egyptian people and to their king, the alteration of the sacrifices and the abrogation of polytheism might appear as a complete abolition of the old religion. There is further another difference in the description of the escape. The Biblical account seems to infer that the king was drowned in the Red Sea, whilst Manetho's Pharaoh chases the Jews to the Syrian frontier, and in the Harris Papyrus, Setinekht restores the land to its former order. Further, also, Osarsiph recalls the Hykshos from Jerusalem for his aid; but, according to the Old Testament, Jerusalem was in the hands of the Jebusites till after the immigration of the Jews, and David was the first who took it from them.[1]

All these discrepancies are insignificant compared with the different representations of the position of Moses. The Book of Exodus makes him the religious reformer and the chief of his own people. Manetho and the Papyrus give him, on the contrary, the dominion of the land of Egypt for a considerable space of time (thirteen years). This difference does not admit of mediation. If Moses=Osarsiph were really the chief of Egypt, and his countrymen the domineering class, that fact would never have been forgotten by the Jews, but would always have remained the pride of the nation, and the object of their favourite songs, and the boast of their historical records.

To surmount these difficulties I see no other way than to make a difference between the political head of this revolution and the religious reformer. The *first* cannot possibly have been Moses, but it is highly probable that the new religious institutions, which the *latter* introduced, had been adopted by that political chief, who was no other than one of those anomalous kings, Amonmeses or Siptah. If so, we must separate from the Manethonian records all that belongs to the political dominion of Moses, and leave to him only that which belongs to the Syrian religious innovator.

Further, if it be accepted that the account of the Great Harris Papyrus treats of the establishment of the Jewish religion by Moses and the subsequent emigration of this

[1] Jos. x, 6; xv, 8-63; 2 Sam. v, 6.

people out of Egypt, that event cannot be placed any longer under the reign of Menephtah I, but after the reign of Seti II Menephtah, because Seti nekht was the king who subdued the revolution and executed the rioters.

On this hypothesis we may fix with tolerable precision the date of the Exodus. On the south side of the outer wall of the Temple of Medinet-Abu is a calendar of feasts, which was probably made in the twelfth year of King Ramses III, as there is mentioned the victory of that sovereign over the Mashuash in his eleventh year. Now this calendar places the rising of the Dog Star (Sirius) in the commencement of the month Thoth. We know that the so-called sacred year of the Egyptians of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days began with this rise, as the common Egyptian year of 365 days commenced with the first of the month Thoth. A coincidence in the beginning of both forms of years happened only once in every 1460 sacred (or Julian) years, and, if this calendar can be trusted, that event took place in the twelfth year of King Ramses III. This would equal the Julian year 1322 B.C., which date for the twelfth gives 1333, the first year of Ramses III, and giving to Setinekht the seven years, which the Manethonian lists ascribe to the last king of the XIXth dynasty, we thus come to 1340 B.C. as the time of the suppression of the revolution. Not long before 1340, therefore, took place the Exodus of the Israelites. Lepsius, believing that the so-called Era of Menophres, the coincidence of both forms of the Egyptian years, fell in the beginning of the reign of Menephtah, placed the Exodus in the ninth year of that Pharoah, 1314. But Menephtah and Menophres are very different names, the one contains the god Ra, the other the god Ptah, so that the basis of Lepsius' reckoning would appear to be somewhat unsafe. Still, all things considered, it is remarkable that in the seventy-nine sheets of the Great Harris Papyrus, which contain so many details of Ramses III's reign, no mention is made of the coincidence of both these forms of years, which could not well remain unobserved.

Though I am not able to clear up all the difficulties which are raised by this newly-discovered document, nor to har-

monize its statements fully with the records of the Holy Scriptures, I am still confident that its testimony of more than 3,000 years ago will be thought of no little importance for the reconstruction of the history of that time, and of peculiar interest for all those who are occupied with Biblical and Archæological studies.

NOTE ON UNIVERSAL TYPE-NUMBERS, AND PYRAMID CASING-STONE.

By S. M. Drach, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.

I propose to append to the European type of any Oriental word the numbers denoting the numerical rank in the original alphabet of the letters composing the said word or name; so that conflicting pronunciations (*e.g.* Noah, Noë; Uzziah, Ozias) would be no bar to the restoring of the original letters. Thus if Aleph be 1, Beth 2, Gimel 3, etc.; then Noah is (8, 14); Miss Noah (5, 16, 14). Also Azariah (5, 10, 20, 7, 16); Ekron (14, 20, 19, 16); Gaza (5, 7, 16); Obadiah (5, 10, 4, 2, 6, 16); Ibri (10, 20, 2, 16); Uzziah (5, 10, 7, 16); which last six names *all* begin with the 16th letter Aïn. Even the unlearned will see that Job (2, 6, 10, 1) and Jobab (2, 2, 6, 10) are not of similar origin.

This system may be applied to Arabic, Sanscrit, and other well defined alphabets, and the rendering of original different letters with the same sound will be no longer ambiguous, requiring *K* and *Q*, etc.

I find the Pyramid Casing-Stone angle of 51° 51′ nearly a mean between 51, 45, 17 (whose sine), and 51, 54, 49 (whose cosine's square root) equals one-fourth of π. *Vide* "Graphic" of 7th December, 1872.

CORRECTIONS TO EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

In the translation of the Inscription No. 14, Early History, p. 43, the first part should be, "Rī-agū the powerful man, the high ruler, established by Bel nourisher of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumir and Akkad, son of Kudur-mabuk, lord of Yamutbal am I," &c.

In the translation of the Inscription of Sargon I, Early History, p. 50, the passage "his command the place only fixed" is an error, it should be "under one command he caused them to be."

In writing of Agane, Early History, p. 51, I stated that its ruins had not been discovered. I was not aware at the time that the site had been discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson.

In the translations, Early History, p. 59, the name Teara-samas and Biara-samas should be Karra-samas.

INDEX TO VOL. I.

A.

PAGE

Aa-nekh-tou, *see* Mésou.... 176
Aba, the Assyrian name for an astronomer 344
Abbott, *see* Papyrus 181
Abdameleech, a Cypriote functionary 155
Aberiu, the, engaged in building a fort for Ramses II 356
,, are a corps attached to the Temple of Heliopolis 356
,, remain in Egypt *after* the Exodus 357
,, sent to form a colony at El Hamamat 357
Abianes, a king of the Medes 247
Abou-Choucheh, a place so named, near Kinnereth.... 151
Abou-zané, a place so called, at the embouchure of the Jordan into the lake of Gennesareth 150
Abradates, king of Susa, slain B.C. 535.... 242
Abulpharagius, his testimony to the 70 weeks of Daniel 251
Abu Mohammed Mustapha, his Life of Darius Hystaspes quoted 195
Accadian hieroglyphic characters first traced upon papyri 344
Accadians, their progress in mathematical science 307
,, on the use of papyrus among the 343
,, migrated from the mountains of Elam 345
,, *see* also Akkad.
Achæmenidæ, rivalry between Cyrus II and Darius as heads of.... 189
Achæmenes, the descendants of, imprecated by Cambyses 223

PAGE

Acra cannot be placed over the Sakrah 323
,, its position uncertain 325
Achsurus, *see* Ahasuerus 186
Achshurus, *see* Ahasuerus 239
Adam, created on the Kubbet es Sakrah 312
,, his grave at the Holy Sepulchre 315
Adila, recaptured by Assurnazirpal 76
,, destroyed by Sibir, king of Kardunias (Babylon) 76
Æaces, son of Syloson, his revolt 219
,, date of his revolt B.C. 498.... 235
Æisuthrus, *see* Sisuthrus 300
Æschylus, his happy description of Cyrus II. 195
Africanus, his date for the "first year of Cyrus" 196
Agane, capital of Babylonia founded by Sargon I 48
Agani, its site still undiscovered 51
,, the country of Sargon I 272
Ahab, king of Israel, mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser 4
Ahasuerus, *see* Cyaxares 186
,, the same as Xerxes, Artaxerxes 193
Ahmes Nefertari, queen, mother of Ramses II 376
Ai, an unorthodox Egyptian king 378
Airy, Prof. G. B., his diameter of the earth 336
Airyanem-vaejo, the Hindoo Kush 302
Akhzib, the real name of the place called Ecdippa 149
Akkad language, discovered 5
,, more allied to the Uranian than Semitic group 5
Akkads, the, devastated by Tiglath-Pileser 73
Akki, a peasant, saves and adopts Sargon I. 273

PAGE

Akki, the Abal (Herdman), his kindness to Sargon I 46
Aksa, the Mosque-el-, thought by some to occupy the site of the temple 313
Alexander Aigus, the tablet of, published by M. Brugsch 20
„ represented worshipping the deities Har-net-af, Horus, and the goddess Buto 20
„ King, tomb in Kubbut es Sakrah 315
Alexander the Great, his successors in Egypt 21
„ conquers Cyprus 130
„ transfers the kingdom of the Medes to the Greeks 247
Alorus I, the god Ur, the first mythical king of Babylon 30
Alphabets, *see* Syrian and Cypriote 119
Alt Pentateuch, the, described 268
„ compared with the Prideaux Pentateuch 268
Altar of Burnt Offering, its dimensions 338
Alteration of Chronology, *see* Chronology 252
Amasis, king of Egypt, the Tablet of Dali at one time believed to be a proclamation by 123
„ conquers Cyprus 130
„ attacked by Cambyses, B.C. 525 228
„ taken captive by Cambyses, B.C. 524.... 220
Amatnim, a predecessor of Sargon I 46
Amenemha III carries on mining operations at Wady Magarah 8
Amenophis flies into Ethiopia 379
„ expels the lepers from Egypt 378
„ and Ramses expel the Hykshos 379
Ammidikaga, king of Babylon, an unknown successor of Hammurabi 65
Amonmeses, an intruding Egyptian king 375
„ born at Hacheb 377
„ his titles effaced 377
Amonmenes, the same as Amonmeses, which see 375
Amoræus, *see* Tomyris, so called by Ctesias 202

PAGE

Anarchy in Egypt before the time of Ramses III 374
Anastasi Papyrus, contains a list of Jewish localities 355
Ancestors, the worship of in Egypt, imperative 176
Anderson, M., his excellent map of the Lake of Gennesareth 145
Antediluvian kings of Babylonia 300
Antipas, *see* Herod Antipas 152
Antonia not to be placed over the Sakrah 323
„ most likely the governor's house at Jerusalem 324
Anu, a great Accadian deity 301
Anunit, the Babylonian Venus.... 34
„ her temple at Sippara rebuilt by Saga Saltiyas 66
Apanda son of Astyages, a king of the Medes 247
Apis Tablets, record the reigns of Cambyses and Darius ... 204
Aphrodite, her temple at Idalium 162
„ not mentioned by name on any yet discovered Cypriote inscription 161
Apra, probably Ophrah in Benjamin and Manasseh 356
Apru, same as Aberiu, which see 356
Aqueduct at Jerusalem discovered by Chev. Schlick 319
Aquiba, Rabbi, his note on Lev. xix, 18, quoted 266
Arabic Historians, too romantic to be reliable 231
Aracus, date of the revolt of 218
Arar, the Aroër of Scripture 332
Ararat, *see* Kharsak-curra 299
Araunah the Jebusite, his threshing floor the Kubbet es Sakrah 312
Arbaces, the last king of the Medes 247
Arbela, the chief city worshipping the goddess Ishtar 346
Arces, a king of the Medes 247
Archer, bas relief of an archer, with a Cypriote inscription 117
Archaic year, Mr. Halliburton's theory upon 338
Archelaus, *see* Herod 103
Ardusin, son of Kudur Mabuk, inscriptions of 43
Aristagoras, the revolt of, after the death of Cyrus II 190

PAGE

Ark, the, said to have rested on the Kubbet es Sakrah 312
„ the Mosaic, its cubical contents 337
Ar Moab, the same as Rabbath Moab 330
„ mistaken locality assigned to, by Mr. Lumley 333
Annius Viterbenses, his corruptions of the text of Megasthenes 247
Aroër, the same as Arar, which see 332
Arphaxad, the same as Phraortes 200
Arrian, mistranslates the epitaph of Cyrus 237
Artackhchachta, erroneously identified with Cambyses 199
Arteus, a king of the Medes 247
Articarmin, a king of the Medes 247
Artines, a king of the Medes 247
Aryan language, its peculiarities 295
„ the verb generally precedes the noun 295
Aryans, the, the founders of inductive science 296
Ashdod conquered by Sargon I 4
Ashmunazar, sarcophagus of, discovered at Sidon 7
Asia Minor conquered by Cyrus II, B.C. 534.... ....
Asiatic chronology, tables of 232–5
Assessors, the forty-two assessors in the hall of the two truths 174
Assur or Assyria, meaning of the name 299
Assur, an Assyrian deity 184
Assurbanipal greatest of Assyrian monarchs, conquers or invades Egypt and Palestine 4
„ defeats Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia 4
„ vision relating to 346
„ his prayer to the goddess Ishtar 346
„ presented with a bow by the goddess Ishtar 347
„ defeats and slays Tiumman 349
„ eclipse in the reign of 13
„ date of his seventh warlike expedition, B.C. 661 434
„ conquers Elam, and recovers the statue of the goddess Nana 33
„ library in 20,000 fragments exhumed at Koyunjik 5
„ now at the British Museum 298

PAGE

Assurbanipal, his annals, translated and published by George Smith 14
Assurbelkala, king of Assyria, B.C. 1100, son of Tiglath-Pileser I, friendly with the king of Babylon.... 74
„ invades Babylon after the death of Maruduksapik-zirrat 74
Assurdan, king of Assyria, 1200 B.C., invades Babylon and conquers Zamamazikiridinna 72
Assur-ebil-ili, termination of the Assyrian empire under 5
Assurnazirpal defeats Nabubaliddina and captures his army 77
„ defeats Sadudu, king of Suhi 76
„ 1000 B.C., captures the city of Adila, destroyed by Sibir, king of Babylon 76
Assur-resilim, king of Assyria, 1150 B.C., defeated by Nabukuduruzur.... 72
Assyria more prolific than Egypt in biblical records 3
„ three times invaded by (Nabukudúruzur) Nebuchadnezzar 72
Assyrian astronomical report 340
Assyrian language, its Hebrew affinities 281
„ the Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues 297
„ its vocalic pronunciation preserved 297
„ its value in explaining Hebraisms 339
„ originally hieroglyphic 298
„ of Turanian origin.... 298
„ verbs, R. Cull upon the verbs Basu, Qabah, and Isu 281
„ magical tablets, one described 341
Assyrian mythology, fragment of ancient Assyrian mythology 271
„ mythology originally Turanian 298
Assyrian prayers for the future life of the king 107
„ temples, their gates protected
Assyrians observed the Sabbath-rest 299
by statues of the gods 342
„ divided the night into three watches 339

PAGE

Astybares, a king of the Medes 247
Astyages, grandfather of Cyrus, dies B.C. 539 .... 185, 247
„ his first year B.C. 573 201
Astronomical report from Assyrians 340
Astronomer, Aba, the Assyrian name of an astronomer 344
Ataiuhai, lord of Coptos, sets up the Hamamat inscriptions 261
Athens, its sacred fountain 317
Athenians and Ionians burn Sardis, B.C. 603.... 190
Athor, or Hat-hor, the Egyptian Aphrodite, her temple at Sarabut el Khadem 8
Atonement, Day of, *see* Day of Atonement 338
'Atossa, Esther, so called by Herodotus 186
Atzupirani, the birth-place of Sargon I 273
Augustus Cæsar, dies 18th August, A.D. 14 95
Avaris, the residence of the Shepherd kings 379
Axares son of Astyages, *see* Cyaxares 186
Ayn et Barideh referred to 152
Ayn et Thabryhah, near to Khan Minieh, referred to 151
Ayn et Tin referred to 152
Ayssaa ibn Maryam, the Arabic form of "Jesus, son of Mary" 152
Azariah, king of Judah, mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II 4
Azupirani, *see* Atzupirani 46

B.

Baalram, a Cypriote dignitary, dedicates a statue to Reshep Mikal 125
„ son of Yaptimilik, mentioned on the bilingual tablet of Dali 136
Babar, the Assyrian name for silver 306
Babel, or Bab-ilu, originally called Ca-dimirra 298
Babili, or Babel, originally Dindur, founded by Hammurabi, who makes it his capital 56
„ another form of Babilu 309
Bab-ilu, *see* Babel 298

PAGE

Babylon, made the capital of the world by Nebuchadnezzar 86
„ sometimes written Babili, "Gate of the gods" 309
„ anciently named E-ci 300
„ its conquest described and foretold by Isaiah 187
„ taken by Darius, B.C. 493 224
„ the female population put to death during the siege by Darius 212
„ conquered by Cyrus II, B.C. 530 187
„ twice conquered by Cyrus II 188
„ eclipse at, 19th November, B.C. 502 234
„ its three last conquests, B.C. 530, 510, 493 235
Babylonia, cities have both Turanian and Semitic names 29
„ inhabited by the Sumir and Akkad races 29
„ periods of its history 31
„ called by the Elamites Ganduniyas 301
„ the native home of the cereals 307
„ ancient geographical list of places in, B.C. 2000 86
„ ten antediluvian kings of 300
„ (South) invaded and conquered by Hammurabi 55
„ conquered by Tugultininip, king of Assyria, who unites the two kingdoms 70
„ invaded and conquered by Assurdan, king of Assyria 72
„ invaded and devastated by Tiglath-Pileser 73
„ invaded by Assurbelkala, king of Assyria, B.C. 1080 74
„ invaded by the Assyrians; treaty of peace concluded with Nabuzikiruskun, king of Babylon 75
„ many cities conquered by Shalmaneser in the war against Marudukbelusate 77
„ invaded by Samsivul, king of Assyria, B.C. 820 77
„ five times invaded by Vulnirari, king of Assyria 81
„ invaded by Tiglath-Pileser II, B.C. 745.... 82
„ conquered and annexed to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser II 85

PAGE

Babylonia invaded by Tiumman, king of Elam 14
Babylonian superstition regarding omens 47
Babylonian tribute tablets, arranged according to Demetrius 24
„ legal tablets, translations of 91
„ their peculiar character 227
„ contract tablets discovered at Warka between 1849–52 210
„ specimens of, with translations 91
„ translated by Geo. Smith 210
„ their uses in chronology 210
„ table of regnal years from ... 213
„ with signatories 220, 221
„ *see* Babylonian contract tablets 209
Babylonian, and Lydian history, dates connected with 208
Babylonian Talmud, *see* Talmud 264
Babylonians, their account of the deluge 89
Bacchus, *see* Dionysus 272
Bagdadu (Bagdad) captured by the Assyrians 75
Bahr el Khebeer (under the temple), its peculiar construction 318
„ described 318
„ supplied by the Pools of Solomon 319
Balak, king of Moab, his interview with Balaam 334
Balaam, his interview with Balak, king of Moab 334
Bana, son of Kala, a tax collector at Warka 228
Barclay's Gate at Jerusalem described 313
Bardes, *see* Smerdis 222
Basileus, the Cypriote word for "king" 133
Basu, "to be," an Assyrian verb, explained by Mr. Cull 281
Battle of Marathon, its date, B.C. 590.... 223
„ between Cyaxares and Alyattes terminated by an eclipse 253
Behistûn Inscription bears internal evidence of having been written at Persepolis 255
„ referred to.... .... 186, 204
„ recognises the two sections of the reign of Darius Hystaspes 254

PAGE

Behistûn Inscription quoted 255
„ many quotations from 190–1
„ mentions Gomates and his revolt 188
Bel, the temple of, again rebuilt by Kurigalzu 70
Belat, a Babylonian goddess, dedication to, by Urukh 35
Belatsunat, earliest known Babylonian queen 41
Belkuduruzur, king of Assyria, fragment of an inscription relating a victory by 71
Belochus, his history, according to Megasthenes 247
Belsamû (Va-anna) ruler of Zirgulla (Zerghul), inscription of 32
Belsharezer, the same as Belshazzar, which see 209
Belshazzar, date of his revolt, B.C. 494 235
„ date of his death, B.C. 493 209
Benares, its sacred fountain 321
Ben Azzai, Simon Ben, *see* Rabbi Simon Ben Azzai 266
Benevolence, Egyptian precepts concerning 174
Benhadad, king of Syria, mentioned in the Annals of Shalmaneser 4
Berenice, an unknown daughter of Evergetes I, called queen on the tablet of Canopus 11
Bernstein, his Hebrew Lexicon quoted 290
Berosus, his chronological scheme 30
„ asserts Nebuchadnezzar died B.C. 538.... 184
„ his account of the second siege of Babylon 189
„ his Pantabiblos and Larancha identified 298
Bethsaida, Pool of, the cistern near, described 318
Bethsayda (Julias) M. Le Chev. de Saulcy, sur le site de 145
„ the capital of the tetrarchy of Herod Philip.... 146
„ much romanised by the Herodian dynasty 146
„ the tomb of Herod Philip erected at 146
„ placed by Capt. Wilson and Dr. Thomson at Abouzané 150

PAGE

Bevelled stones in the wall of the Haram described 325
Bibar el Molūk, tombs of the kings in.... 375
Biblical Archæology, results to be anticipated from the study of 12
Bibliothèque Universelle Internationale, quoted 176
Bilingual inscription, Phœnician and Cypriote, found at Idalion 116
Biliteral roots not proved to exist in the Semitic languages 296
Bilithic arch under the Haram es Shereef 318
Binarari, *see* Vulnarari.
Birch, Dr. Samuel, Progress of Biblical Archæology (inaugural address) 1
„ hieroglyphic tablet of Alexander Aigus 20
„ on the reading of the inscription on the bronze plate of Dali 153
„ interlineary translation of bilingual inscription of Dali, by 155
„ pointed out the peculiarities of the Hamamat inscriptions 260
„ his translation of the Hamamat inscriptions.... 260
Birket Israel, *see* Bethesda, Pool of 314
Blasphemy, punished with death by the Hebrews.... 178
Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Exodus erroneously placed in his reign 380
Bosanquet, J. W., on the date of Christ's nativity 93
„ on Cyrus the Second 183
„ his "Messiah the Prince" referred to 185
„ his Chronological Appendix to "Smith's Assurbanipal" referred to 185
„ his death of Cambyses, B.C. 518 200
„ his six conclusions on the dates of Cyrus I and II.... 261
British Museum Inscriptions, pl. xviii, No. 5631, quoted 178
„ the Harris Papyrus bought by the 358

PAGE

Brugsch, Heinrich, publishes the tablet of Alexander Aigus 20
„ his "Géographie," II, 57–62, referred to 355
Buchanan Pentateuch compared with the Prideaux Pentateuch 268
„ is written in five different hands 268
Burnaburyas I, king of Babylon 66
Burnaburyas II, king of Babylon, successor of Kara-indas, continues the treaty with the king of Assyria 68
„ rebuilds the temple erected by Urukh at Bitparra 68
„ inscriptions of 68
Buto, the true name of the chief town of the XIXth nome 20
Buxtorf, his Hebrew Lexicon quoted 292

C.

Ca-dimirra, the original name of Babel..... 298
Caillaud Collection, an Ostracon in, referred to 181
Cambyses, king of Persia, conquers Cyprus 130
„ and Smerdis, not the kings who were hostile to the Jews 193
„ never reigned in Asia Minor 225
„ his cruelties to the friends of Cyrus his son 225
„ murders his brother Smerdis 222
„ enters Egypt, B.C. 525 228
„ his speech to the Medes and Persians 243
„ seized with madness 222
„ dying, imprecates the descendants of Achæmenes 223
„ dies, B.C. 518 203
„ and Nabonidus, their reigns begin in the same year, B.C. 529.... 226
„ his reign clearly fixed by an eclipse in his 7th year 240
„ inscriptions of, at El Hamamat 260
Canon of Ptolemy, why its dates are erroneous 252

	PAGE
Canon of Ptolemy, not so much historical as astronomical	253
Canopus, tablet of, discovered and published by Lepsius	11
„ triliteral, dedicated by Ptolemy Energetes I	11
„ describes an attempt to correct the Calendar by the introduction of a leap year	11
Capernahum, *see* Capharnaum	145
Capharnaum, M. le Chev. de Saulcy sur le site de	145
„ situated near the Ayn-el-Medaouarah	149
Coracinus, the fish so called found in the fountain at Capharnaum	149
Cave Worship, its antiquity	317
Cave under the Sakrah, its exploration desirable	317
„ may be the gate Nitsots	317
Cereals indigenous to Babylonia	307
Cesnola, General, sends copies of Cypriote Inscriptions to Dr. Birch	131
„ his successful excavations at Golgos	131
Chabas, François, discovers the name of the Hebrews under Ramses II	2
„ on an Ostracon in the Caillaud Collection, referred to	181
„ Hébræo-Egyptiaca	173
„ identifies the Hebrews with the Aperiu	356
Chaeremon, his account of the Exodus compared	379
Chaldean origin of part of Genesis	300
Chaldeans said to have been first called Kephenes	302
Champollion Le Jeune, first discovers the name of Shishak (Sheshonk)	2
„ discovered at Karnak the name of Judah Melek	355
„ first translated part of the negative confession	175
Charity or Benevolence, Egyptian precepts concerning	174
Cherubims, or *Lamazi*, golden figures of, placed by Samsuiluna in the temples of the deities	63
„ inscriptions of Samsuiluna relating to figures of	64
„ their analogues in Assyrian Mythology	301
Children, their duties towards their parents in Egyptian theology	176
Chinzirus, B.C. 731, *see* Kinziru	85
Chorazin, *see* Khorazyn, sur le site de	145
Chronology, the received chronology altered by twenty-five years	252
Clemens Alexandrinus, his statement as to the date of the Nativity....	103
„ his dates for the fall of Babylon and death of Alexander	250
„ Strom. I, quoted	250
Clinton, Fynes, in error as to the age of Cyrus II....	198
Cochlea, a machine so-called, used to draw water	279
Coffer, Royal, dimensions of the coffer in the Great Pyramid	336
Confession, the negative confession of the Egyptians	174
Constantine the Great, probably the builder of the Mosque of Omar....	316
Contract tablet in the British Museum, translated by Geo. Smith	205
„ *see* Babylonian contract tablets	210
Contradictions between Greek and Persian historians, how reconciled	230
Conversational oaths in Egypt, *see* Oaths	178
Copper or bronze, called "zabar" by the Assyrians	306
Cossier Road: tablet of Darius Hystaspes on the rocks there	203
Coutts, Baroness, the water supply of Jerusalem begun by	320
Crœsus king of Lydia, his message to the Delphic Oracle	23
„ invades Persia	187
„ defeated by Cyrus II	187
„ deposed B.C. 535	240
Ctesias, seventeen years physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon....	239
„ asserts that Darius died at the age of 72	183
„ his account of the division of the Persian empire	186

PAGE

Ctesias more trustworthy than Herodotus 239
Ctesiæ fragmenta, p. 50, referred to 229
Cull, R., on the Assyrian verbs "basu," "qabah," and "isu" 281
Curtius, his "Grundzüge d'Griechischen Etymologie," quoted 296
Cush, probably the Kossæi of the Chaldeans 302
Cyaxares the same as Ahasuerus 186
,, the "Persian Mule" of the Oracle 186
,, receives the eastern half of the empire of Cyrus I 186
,, gives Media to Cyrus II, as his daughter's dowry 187
,, his daughter married to Cyrus II 243
Cycle, the Egyptian lunar cycle 336
Cypriote Inscriptions, *see* Lang, R. Hamilton 116
,, alphabet, *see* Plate 129
,, its analogies with Phœnician, Lycian, and Egyptian characters 119
,, and Lycian alphabets had the same source.... 121
,, differs greatly according to its age 117
,, language generally reads from right to left 122
,, inflectional terminations of nouns, &c. 126
,, its important position in comparative philology 127
,, nouns declined similar to the Greek and Latin 137
,, is of an Aryan origin 160
,, follows the Greek grammatical forms 160
,, a vocabulary compiled by Engel 161
,, syllabary, has twelve vowel characters 136
,, has from 50 to 60 characters 133
,, variations in the characters 137
,, examined in detail 139, 144
,, has inherent vowels 136
Cypriote coins, a paper by Mr. Lang upon, referred to 134
,, inscriptions are of three classes, Greek, Phœnician, Cypriote 129

PAGE

Cypriote inscriptions, copies of them given by General Cesnola to Dr. Birch 131
,, erroneously translated by Prof. Röth 154
,, published by Lieut. Leycester in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., 1863 154
,, published by Von Hammer 154
,, published by M. Pierides 154
,, by the Duc de Luynes 154
,, erroneously translated by A. Helfferick 154
,, interlineary translation of bilingual inscription of Dali, by Dr. Birch 155
,, the bilingual inscription of Dali restored by M. Halévy 167
,, on the reading of, by George Smith 129
,, inscriptions, various forms of verbs and nouns exemplified 163
Cyprus one of the earliest settlements of the Phœnicians 7
,, early colonisation and its results 129
,, conquered by Sargon, B.C. 800 129
,, seven native rulers send tribute to Sargon, B.C. 709 129
,, ten native rulers send tribute to Esarhaddon 129
,, conquered by Nabukuduruzur 130
,, by Amasis king of Egypt 130
,, conquered by Cambyses king of Persia 130
,, ruled by Evagoras king of Salamis 130
,, the pure Greek language introduced by Evagoras 160
,, the people said to have been refined by Evagoras 160
,, conquered by Alexander the Great 130
,, conquered by Ptolemy Lagus 130
,, Menelaus brother of Ptolemy besieged there 123
Cyrus father of Cambyses, his "first year," according to Josephus, B.C. 560 196
,, Egyptian character of the tomb of Cyrus son of Cambyses at Pasargadæ 238
,, some analogy between his early life and that of Sargon I 272

PAGE

Cyrus father of Cambyses, called Kai-Khosru by Persian writers 250
„ *his* "first year" in Media really 538 197
„ never reigned in Babylon 197
„ his dream before the battle with Tomyris 202
„ dies B.C. 536, and divides his kingdom 186, 202
„ his true place and chronology 200
Cyrus son of Cambyses, reigns 29 years, till B.C. 506 187
„ defeats Crœsus, king of Lydia 187
„ receives Media as his wife's dowry 187
„ conquers Babylon B.C. 530.... 187
„ made king over Lydia and Armenia 187
„ twice conquers Babylon 188
„ directs the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem, B.C. 513 189
„ rivalry between him and Darius 189
„ way prepared for the worship of the Magi 190
„ his character by Herodotus 195
„ his character by Isaiah 195
„ happily described by Æschylus 195
„ his character by Xenophon 195
„ his "first year," as king of Babylon, according to modern chronology, B.C. 538 196
„ his "first year," according to Petavius, B.C. 560 196
„ his "first year," according to Africanus, B.C. 560 196
„ his "first year," according to Sulpicius Severus, B.C. 560 196
„ his "first year" at Babylon, according to Ptolemy, 538 197
„ took the title king of Babylon, according to Bosanquet, after the death of Cambyses 200
„ ignorant of the cruelties of his father Cambyses 225
„ never reigned in Persia proper 225
„ the anointed of Jehovah 226
Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane, the historians who relate his history 230

PAGE

Cyrus son of Cambyses and Mandane slays Evil Merodach, B.C. 535 235
„ not to be confounded with Cyrus father of Cambyses 183
„ his history only distinctly known from Xenophon's Cyropædia 184
„ not known to Herodotus 224
„ inscription of, found at Senkereh 224
„ inscription on his tomb at Pasargadæ 237
„ boundaries of his empire 241
„ list of the nations subdued by 240
Cyrenius, *see* Quirinius.... 97

D.

Dali, *see* Idalion, Bilingual inscription found at (Plate 128) 116
„ translation of the same 138
„ interlineary translation by Dr. Birch 155
„ the Phœnician portion translated by M. Halévy 156
Damascus conquered by Vulnarari 4
Daniel, the bearing of his "seventy weeks" upon the age of Cyrus II 198
„ the place of his seventy years 235
Darius son of Hystaspes, called "Darius the Mede" in Daniel ix, 1 183
„ opposes the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem 192
„ conquers Babylon, B.C. 493 224
„ called king of Assyria 254
„ his reign divisible into two distinct parts 254
„ his second period commences B.C. 506 255
„ reasons for his adoration of Ormazd 257
„ in the Behistûn Inscription intentionally avoids dates 255
„ his decree to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem 258
„ his decree regarding the worship of Jehovah 259
„ establishes the worship of of Jehovah 184
„ dies, B.C. 485 or early 484.... 183

PAGE

Darius son of Hystaspes, his death, B.C. 485–4 201
„ his sepulchre and inscriptions at Nakkish-i-Rustam 191
„ his 36th year recorded on a tablet in the Cossier Road 203
„ his regnal years doubly computed 204
„ his 35th year found on a Babylonian tablet 203
„ inscription of El Hamamat 260
Darius Longimanus, contends for the kingdom of Media 247
D'Avennes, *see* Prisse D'Avennes, and Papyrus.
David, king of Israel, the first to conquer Jerusalem 382
Day of atonement, a conjectural reason for its date 338
Decalogue, its analogies with the Papyrus Prisse in the fifth commandment 177
Delphi, the dubious oracle of a "Persian Mule" 187
Delphic Oracle, its ambiguous reply to Crœsus, king of Lydia 237
Deluge, the Babylonian account of 89
Demetrius (Poliorcetes?) defeated by Ptolemy Lagus at Palai Gaza 22
Demetrius the chronologer, gives B.C. 581 as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar 184
„ asserts that all the tribes were not removed by Sennacherib 208
Demochares, a person mentioned in the bronze tablet of Dali 160
Deutsch, Mr. E., condemns the new Moabite stone 329
Dhiban, the Dibon of Scripture 332
Diameter of the Earth, *see* Earth.
Dibon, same as Dhiban, which see 332
Dikaiodotus, a person mentioned on the Cypriote inscriptions 157
Dikœarkhus asserts the Chaldeans were first called Kephenes 302
Dindur, *see* Babili 56
Dionysus (the god), analogies between his early life and that of Sargon I 272
Dja, *see* Ja 181

PAGE

Djaha, the land of 356
"Dome of the Rock," *see* Kubbet es Sakrah 312
Dotted letters in the Pentateuch ascribed to Ezra 267
Drach, S. M., on the base length of the Great Pyramid 335
„ his diameter of the Earth ... 336
Dream of Herod Archelaus 104
Drimon, Cypriote inscriptions found there 117
Dümichen, his Kalend. Inschriff. quoted 175
Dunnusaida, the phonetic name of Dungi, king of Ur 90
Dungi, king of Babylonia, son and successor of Urukh, inscriptions of 36
Durrigalzu, *see* Kurigalzu 69
Dur Sargina, city founded by Sargon I 47

E

Earth, the Kubbet es Sakrah said to be the middle of the.... 313
Earth's diameter according to Prof. Piazzi Smyth 336
„ according to Airy 335
„ in inches 335
„ according to Drach 336
Eclipse of the sun in the reign of Assurbanipal 13
„ of Assurbanipal, date of, B.C. 661 348
„ at Larissa, B.C. 557, probably not total 201
„ of the moon, alarms the Athenian army under Nicias 18
Eclipses (lunar) from B.C. 5 to B.C. 1 99
„ *see* the towns where they were recorded 232
Ecdippa, the real name of the place was Akhzib 149
E-ci, "mound city," an old name of Babylon 300
Edali, the Cypriote form of Idalium, which see 133
Edom conquered by Vulnaran 4
Egypt conquered by Assurbanipal 4
„ the chronology from Menes to Sethos I, found in a temple at Abydos 11

PAGE

Egypt, pre-eminence of the divine over the civil law in 180
„ called the land of Tamera in the Harris Papyrus 359
„ anarchy in 360
„ religious revolution in 361
„ religious revolution in, suppressed by Seti nekht 364
„ the religious revolution in, caused by a Syrian chief 370
„ the Egyptian gods degraded by the Syrian invaders 370
„ invaded by the Libu and Maschuasch 374
„ succession of the intrusive kings in.... 375
Egyptians and Hebrews, ethical analogies between 173
Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic texts, a considerable number await careful comparison 181
„ lunar cycle, the 336
„ priests forbidden to eat fish 357
„ holy and common years compared 383
„ year, began 1st of Thoth 383
Eisenlohr, Dr. August, on the political religion of Egypt before the reign of Ramses III 355
Ekate, a king or deity, mentioned on the bilingual inscription of Dali 158
Elam, the mountains of Elam the original home of the Accadians 345
„ invaded by Sargon I 47
„ conquered by Kudurmabuk 42
Eliatgula, queen of Babylonia, succeeds Naramsin; last of the dynasty of Sargon I 52
El Medjel, *see* Magdala.... 152
Engel, publishes a vocabulary of Cyprote words 160
Era of Menophres, did not fall in the reign of Menepthah I 383
Esarhaddon, his annals mention Manasseh king of Judah 4
„ receives tribute from ten kings of Cyprus 129
„ conquers Egypt and sets up twenty kings there 375
Esther called Atossa by Herodotus 186
„ the Book of, its general agreement with Herodotus 223

PAGE

Ethics of the Egyptians and Hebrews, analogies between 173
Euisedostes, a Cypriote monarch mentioned on the bronze tablet at Dali 161
Euphrates, the papyrus originally grew in 344
Eusebius, his testimony as to the localities of Capharnaum, Khorazyn, etc., referred to 148
„ his extract from Megasthenes quoted 187
„ his date for the "first year of Cyrus" 196
Evagoras king of Salamis, B.C. 410-375, rules in Cyprus and revolts against Persia 130
„ coins of, described.... 134
„ introduces the pure Greek language into Cyprus 160
Evelthon, *see* Eveltas king of Salamis 134
„ coin of, described 134
Eveltas, mentioned by Herodotus under the name of Evelthon 134
Evilmerodach king of Babylon, succeeded by Nergalsharezar 189
„ date of his first year, B.C. 537.... 233
„ rebels against Cyrus 241
„ slain by Cyrus II, B.C. 535 235
Exodus, may have taken place under Menepthah I 8
„ the, probably took place after the reign of Seti II 383
„ the, took place probably about B.C. 1340 383
„ the, erroneously placed in the reign of Bocchoris ....
„ the, discrepancies between the statements of Menetho and Ramses III 380
„ Manetho's account of, examined 378
Exodus Papyri, will not stand a severe criticism.... 357
Ezekiel, his sacred river referred to 321
Ezra, the author of the dotted letters in the Pentateuch 267

F.

PAGE

Fellows, Sir Charles, publishes the Lycian alphabet 120
Fergusson, James, his theory on the Kubbet es Sakrah 314
„ his theory as to the Holy Sepulchre 315
Fifth commandment found in its purport on the Papyrus Prisse 177
Filial obedience, Egyptian views respecting 176
Fish, forbidden to the Egyptian clergy 357
Flood, a flood mentioned in an Assyrian ritual 301
Flower Gate at Jerusalem described 317
Formation of the Society; 18th June, 1870 1
„ and inauguration of the Society, 9th December, 1870 ii
Fürst, his "Hebrew Lexicon" 285
„ Ditto 290–92
Fosse at Jerusalem of modern date 324
Fountains, *see* holy fountains 321
Fox, General, his Cypriote coins referred to 135

G.

Gadatas, with Gobryas, slays Laborosoarchod, king of Babylon 243
Gauneau, M. Clement, discovers inscriptions at Siloam 9
Gamilninip, ruler of Karrak, inscription of 37
Gamilsin, king of Ur, inscription of 39
Ganduni, the same as Gandunyas 301
Gan-duniyas, a common Elamite name of Babylonia 301
Ganges flows from the throne of Siva 321
Gasin...., early Babylonian king, father of Sinidinna 44
Gate Tadi, Jerusalem, referred to 317
Genesis, the Book of, partly of Chaldean origin 300
Gennesareth, the lake of, excellently mapped by M. Anderson 145
Geographical list of the towns in Babylonia, 2000 B.C. 86
Giants of Genesis, Præ-Semitic.... 303
Gihon of Scripture, called Gikhkhan in Assyrian texts 300
„ the upper watercourse of 319
Gikhkhan, the Gihon of Scripture 300
Gomates the Magian seduces Persia and Media from Cambyses 188
„ put to death by Darius 191
Gamilnana, a tax collector at Warka 228
Gobryas slays Laborosoarchod, king of Babylon 243
Gods of Egypt made (or degraded) like human beings 370
Golgos, General Cesnola's excavations there 131
Gordyæan mountains, the resting place of the Ark of Sisuthrus (Onkelos).... 301
Gournah, temple of Seti I at 376
Gouschtasp, the Arabic name for Darius Hystaspes 251
Governor's house at Jerusalem, is of the Roman period 324
Grasset, Mr., discovers the Soli Inscription (note) 127
Graves, Captain, believed a Cypriote inscription to be Lycian 121
Great Sea of the Temple, *see* Bahr el Khebeer 318
Great Pyramid, its base length according to Piazzi Smyth 335
„ its geometrical proportions 335
„ dimensions of the coffer in 336
„ were its measures connected with those of the Tabernacle? 337
Great Pyramids, S. M. Drach on the base length of, etc. 335
Greek and Persian historians, how they may be reconciled 230
Grote, his "History of Greece," III, 269, quoted 259
Grotto of the Virgin, a relic of Cave-worship 317
„ of Jeremiah described 324
Gu-de-a, Turanian ruler of Zirgulla, inscriptions of 33
Gungunu, son of Ismidagan, inscriptions of 39
Gushtasp, the Asiatic name for Darius Hystaspes 195

H.

PAGE

Hacheb, a town near Benisuef, on the Nile.... 377
„ the birthplace of Amonmeses 377
„ *see* also Hakheb 378
Hadassah, the same as ʿAtossa or Esther 186
Hadassah, or Esther, the legal succession to the Median throne vested in.... 257
Hakheb, same as Hacheb 377
Hales, Dr., his opinion on the age of Cyrus II erroneous 198
Halévy, M., has brought to Paris copies of 500 Himyaritic inscriptions 10
„ his translation of the bilingual tablet of Dali ... 156
Halliburton, his theory on the Archaic year 338
Hamath, some very singular inscriptions found there 11
Hammer, Von, referred to, published Cypriote inscription (?) 154
Hamamat, inscriptions of Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes, at 260
„ translation of, by Dr. Birch 260
„ plates of 261
Hammurabi king of the Kassi, conquers Babylonia, B.C. 1600 31
„ probably one of the Kassi 56
„ founds Dindur or Babili, and makes it the capital of Babylonia 56
„ founds a temple to Merodach 56
„ inscriptions of 57–61
„ builds a ziggurat or tower, "its top reaching to heaven" 58
„ the Semitic inscription of, at Paris, published by M. Menant and Fox Talbot.... 59
„ builds a river wall by the Tigris 59
„ excavates a canal 60
„ builds a palace at Kilmad 61
„ probably the same as Samsuiluna 61
„ probably the biblical Nimrod 91
Happy Fields, the Assyrian name for Heaven, or Elysium.... 107

PAGE

Harbisihu king of Babylon, B.C. 1500, greater chronological certainty from the period of his successor, Karaindas 67
Haram es Shereef described 311
„ erroneously mapped by Pierotti 317
„ completely honecombed with excavations 317
„ scarcely to be called a mount 323
„ its ancient wall described 325
„ the Mosque of Omar in the, described 315
Harris Papyrus, *see* Eisenlohr, Dr. A., on political condition of Egypt 355
„ discovered in a tomb at Medinet Habon 358
„ its great size and beauty 358
„ contains part of the history of Ramses III 358
„ purchased by the British Museum.... 358
„ hieroglyphic text from, translated 358–367
„ its statements compared with those of the O.T. 382
„ its great biblical importance 383
„ does not mention the coincidence of the Egyptian years 383
Hazael king of Israel, mentioned in the Annals of Shalmaneser 4
Hea, the Babylonian Neptune 56
„ the Assyrian god of life and wisdom 297
Heath, Rev. D. J., his so-called Exodus Papyri wrongly interpreted 357
Hebrews, the, mentioned in the Leyden Papyrus and on the rocks of El Hamamat 2
Hebrew, no Hebrew inscription in square character discovered older than 5th century A.D. 9
Hebrews entered Egypt prior to the reign of Thothmes III 356
Hebrew and Assyrian languages have one common source 281
„ language, its Assyrian analogues 281
„ its letter-changes 286
„ the Masora does not represent the original pronunciation 294
Hebrews and Egyptians, ethical analogies between 173

PAGE

Hébræo-Ægyptiaca, by M. François Chabas 173
Hecate, the goddess, mentioned in the Cypriote inscriptions 158
Helfferick, A., erroneously translates the inscription of Dali as a psalm of the colony of Idalium 154
„ his Die Phœnizisch-Cyprisch Forschung referred to 154
Heliopolis, its Fountain of the Sun 321
„ the Aberin employed there by Ramses III 356
Hephaistos, the deity, mentioned in an unpublished Cypriote inscription 162
Herod Archelaus, his dream of the nine ears of corn 104
Herod Antipas founds the town of Thabarich 152
Herod the Great, true date of the death of.... 99
Herod Philip erects a family mausoleum at Julias or Bethsayda 146
Herodotus mentions Evelthon or Eveltas, king of Salamis 134
„ names Esther as 'Atossa 186
„ his character of Cyrus II 195
„ his chronology of the reigns of Cyrus I, Cambyses, and Darius 203
„ generally agrees with the Book of Esther 223
„ confounds Cyrus I and II 224
„ his account of Cyrus I to be preferred 231
„ his mistake respecting Cyrus son of Cambyses.... 240
Herschel, Sir J., his "Astronomy" quoted, p. 685 201
Hezekiah king of Judah, his tribute mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib 4
„ his fortification of Jerusalem 320
Hhedjar-el-Kham-Khobzat, or the stone of the five loaves, referred to 152
Hiddekhel, the same as the Tigris 300
Hieratic text in the British Museum, translated 179
Hills, their imagery in Scripture 322
Himyaritic inscriptions, their date uncertain 10
Hind, J. R., a list of lunar eclipses from B.C. 5 to 1.... 99

PAGE

Hincks, Dr. E., the first to explain the verb substantive in Assyrian.... 280
„ his high opinion of the Assyrian language 297
Historians, Greek and Persian, how they may be reconciled 230
Hittites, the Khita of Egyptian and the Khatti of Assyrian history 303
Holy fountains, their universality 321
„ compared 321
Holy Hill, the Haram es Shereef, so called 322
Holy Sepulchre, church of, an imitation of the Kubbet es Sakrah 314
„ traditional sacred sites in 315
„ called the middle of the earth 315
„ Adam's tomb at 315
Hoshea king of Israel mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II 4
Hycsos, *see* Hykshos 379
Hyde, his Religio Veterum Persarum quoted 195
Hykshos, the revolt of, according to Manetho 378
„ ultimately expelled by Amenophis and Ramses 379
„ under the name of Solymites, defile Egypt 379
„ honoured one divinity under the name of Set 381

I.

Ibilsin or Abilsin, king of Ur 41
Icosarchy set up in Egypt by Esarhaddon 375
Idadu, Semitic governor of Eridu, inscription of 32
Idalion (now Dali), ruins of an ancient temple discovered at 116
„ bilingual inscription, Phœnician and Cypriote, found at 116
„ various Cypriote coins (six classes) found there 117
Idalium, founded by Teucer, his portico there 161
Ilu . . . zat ? fragmentary inscription of 39

PAGE

Immortality of the soul. Assyrian belief in, proved 106
Inch, the Great Pyramid inch 335
,, its probable derivation 336
Inductive science, founded by the Aryans 296
Inherent vowels, occur in the Cypriote language 136
Introduction to Transactions i
Intruding kings between Seti II and Seti nekht, not acknowledged 375
Ionians and Athenians, burn Sardis, B.C. 603.... 190
Ipnazir, a Babylonian attorney or notary 205
Iribamarudnk, king of Babylon, his period uncertain 75
Isis, mentioned on the bronze tablet of Idalium 161
Isaac, said to have been offered on the Kubbet es Sakrah 312
Isagoras, praises Evagoras for civilizing the Cyprioles 160
Isaiah, his character of Cyrus II 195
Isbibarra king of Karrak, inscription of 37
Isidostes, a Cypriote monarch mentioned on the bronze tablet of Dali 161
Ishtar, an Assyrian goddess 184
,, chiefly worshipped at Arbela 346
,, the prayer of Assurbanipal to 346
,, her appearance to an Assyrian seer 347
Ismidagan, Semitic king of Karrak, inscriptions of 38
,, and Gungunu, their relationship uncertain 90
Israelites, not accustomed to inscribe monoliths.... 331
,, were not to attack Moab 333
Isu, "to have," an Assyrian verb, explained by Mr. Cull 291

J.

Ja, the Egyptian name of the mayor of a city.... 181
Jacob, his dream said to have been on the Kubbet es Sakrah 312
Jahaz, the same as Gazaza, which see 331
Jazaza or Jahaz, its situation 332

PAGE

Jazaza, Sihon defeated there 331
Jehovah, the worship of, established by Darius Hystaspes 184
Jehu king of Israel, mentioned in the Annals of Shalmaneser 4
Jepthah, his statement as to Moab 330
Jenkins, Mr. B. G., on the new Moabite stone 328
Jerome, Saint, his testimony as to the sites of Capernaum, Khorazyn, &c., referred to 148
Jerusalem, first conquered by David 382
,, last exodus from, under Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 559 233
,, destruction of, B.C. 563 233
,, the second temple finished, B.C. 486.... 234
,, first explored by Omar 307
,, conquered by Omar the Caliph, A.D. 636.... 311
,, the holy place covered with dung 311
,, the Haram es Shereef described 311
,, the holy places have changed localities 314
,, was defended from the north 324
Jerusalem, on the archæology of, by William Simpson 310
Joppa, said to have been built before the Deluge 302
Josephus (Flavius), his unison with the Gospel of St. Luke 94
,, wounded near to Julias, which place he describes 150
,, his date for the first year of Cyrus, B.C. 560 196
Josephus (Flavius) erroneously asserts that Darius was known to the Greeks by another name 246
Joshua, the son of Sirach, *see* Ecclesiasticus 178
Judaism and Magism, their progress 194
Julias, *see* Bethsayda 145
Justin, his remarks on the battle between Cyrus I and Tomyris 237

K

PAGE

Kaarabel king of Babylon, uncertain succession 66
Kai Khosru, the same as Cyrus I 231
Kar Assur, a palace built by Tiglath-Pileser II, after the conquest of Babylonia 83
Kaldi (Chaldeans), submit and pay tribute to Shalmaneser 78
Kaldu (or Chaldea), a district inhabited by the Chaldees, had no fixed boundary 86
Kambouziah, *see* Cambyses 199
Kaptiya son of Balbasu, a tax collector at Warka 228
Karahardas king of Babylon, slain by a revolution of the Kassi 69
Karaindas king of Babylon, B.C. 1475, makes a territorial agreement with Ass-belnissu king of Assyria 67
,, inscriptions of, from the Synchronous History 67
Kara-indas, the first certainly dated Babylonian monarch 31
Kardunias, kings of, another name for the kings of Babylon, whom see.
Karduniyas, ancient name of Babylonia 30
Karrak, conquered by Rimsin 53
Karrinabu, a Babylonian city 205
Kassi, the, elevate Nazibugas to be king of Babylon 69
,, revolt and murder Karahardas, king of Babylon 69
Kazalla conquered and devastated by Sargon 48
Kefr, a village, its definite meaning as used by the Arabs 149
Kembuta, the Egyptian form of Cambyses 260
Kepheus king of the Æthiopians, his capital said to be Joppa 302
Kerazeh, is not the site of Khorazyn 148
,, its ruins considerable ... 148
Khabash, king of Egypt, under XXVIIIth Dynasty, possibly of Persian origin 24

PAGE

Khabash, king of Egypt, only known by the tablet of Alexander Aigos, and an inscription in the Apium 11
,, expels Xerxes from Sais 23
,, gives the land of Panaut to the State of Buto 23
Khan-Minich, referred to 151
Khara, the same as the Syrians, which see 375
Kharsak Curra, probably the Ararat of the Deluge ... 299
Khatti, the Assyrian name of the Hittites 303
Khshaiursha, the Egyptian form of Xerxes 260
Kher, the cemetery and funereal temples of Thebes, so called 180
,, a report from, translated 180
,, reports from the officials of, respecting the workmen there 180
Kheta, the Egyptian name of the Hittites.... 303
Khorazyn, M. le Chev. de Saulcy sur le site de 145
Kilmad (Kalwadha), a palace built there by Hammurabi 61
Kings, worship of the deceased kings in Egypt.... 176
,, of Persia (Dan. x, 20), refers to Darius and Cyrus 192
Kinnereth, mentioned in the reign of Thothmes III 145
,, site of, claimed to be discovered by M. de Saulcy 146
Kinziru king of Babylon, B.C. 731-727, son of Amakkan; besieged by Tiglath-Pileser II 85
Kirjath, meaning of the name 305
Kossæi, possibly the Cushites of Genesis 302
Kubbet es Sakrah, found by Omar covered with dung 311
,, traditions respecting the 312
,, said to be the middle of the earth 313
,, the cave under, described 314
Kudur Lagamar, the Babylonian name of Chederlaomer 90
Kudurmabuk, conquers Yamutbul (Elam) and Syria 42

PAGE

Kudurmabuk, possibly the Chedorlaomer of Genesis 42
„ inscription of 43
Ku-dur-na-an-hu-un-di, mentioned in the Annals of Assurbanipal 33
Kudurnanhundi, conquers Babylonia, B.C. 2280 30
Kukuru, an Assyrian general, reports an eclipse to Assurbanipal 13
„ M. Oppert's corrections on the report of 352
Kunitzer Rabbi Moses, *see* Rabbi Moses Kunitzer.... 267
Kurigalzu king of Babylon, an unknown successor of Hammurabi 65
Kurigalzu II, king of Babylon, probably the same as Durrigalzu, son of Burnaburyas II 70
„ builds a tower to the god Bel 70
„ a break in the history of Babylonia after his time 70
„ inscriptions of 70

L.

Laborosoarchod king of Babylon, date of his reign and death, B.C. 530.... 209
„ treacherously betrayed in Babylon to Cyrus II 189
„ reigns only nine months 242
„ slain by Gobryas and Gadatas 243
Lamazi, *see* Cherubim 63
Lang, R. Hamilton, on the discovery of some Cypriote inscriptions 116
Lang, R. Hamilton, offers his Cypriote collection to the British Museum 131
„ his paper on Cypriote coins referred to 134
Larancha, Senkereh so called by Berosus 298
Larissa, or Nimrûd, eclipse mentioned by Xenophon 201
„ eclipse at, 19 May, B.C. 557 232
Lassen, Prof., doubts the authenticity of tomb of Cyrus.... 238
Lauth, M., his "Moses der Ebrader" a mistake 357

PAGE

Leap year, first recorded on the tablet of Canopus, two centuries prior to its discovery by Sosigenes 11
Lee, Prof., his Hebrew Lexicon quoted 289, 292
Lepers expelled from Egypt by king Amenophis.... 379
Lepsius, Dr. Karl, discovers the tablet of Canopus 11
Lepsius, Dr. R., his edition of the Ritual (Todtenbuch) referred to.... 175
„ his date for the era of Menophra uncertain 383
Letter-changes in Hebrew 286
Lewin, Mr. T., his theory as to the Mosque of Omar 315
Leycester, Lieut., publishes some Cypriote inscriptions in the Trans. R.S.L. 154
Leyden Papyrus, the, mention of the Aberiu on 356
Libit-anunit, ruler of Nipur or Karrak, inscription of 37
Libraries established at Senkerek and Uru.... 298
Livy, his account of the birth of Romulus 272
Loftus, Mr., discovers the contract tablets at Warka 210
„ his "Chaldæa and Susiana" quoted 210
Lohrasp, the Arabic name for Cambyses 250
Lucian asserts Cyrus I to have died of grief 207
„ his account of Cyrus I 207
„ his statement as to the death-place of St. Stephen 314
Lumley, Mr. Henry, his letter respecting the new Moabite stone 328
„ retracts his opinion of the new Moabite stone 329
Lunar Cycle, the Egyptian Lunar Cycle 336
Luynes, M. Le Duc de, discovers the Cypriote alphabet 116
„ examination of his Cypriote alphabet.... 119
„ mistook the Cypriote word "king" for "Salamis" 154
„ his "Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriote" referred to 153

PAGE

Luynes, M. Le Duc de, great value of his work on the Cypriote inscriptions 130
Lycian alphabet, its analogies with the Cypriote 120
„ and Babylonian history, dates connected with 208
„ language, Indo-Germanic, with affinities to the Zend 121
Lysimachus, his account of the Exodus compared 379

M.

Magarah (Wady) and Sarabit el Khadim discovered by Niebuhr in 1750 7
„ turquoise and copper mines first opened by Senufru.... 8
„ the most ancient mine in the world 8
„ mines abandoned in the 12th dynasty 8
Magdala, the same as the present village of El Medjel 152
Magi, the, occupy the throne of Persia, B.C. 518 212
Magian dualistic doctrines, referred to in Isaiah xlv, 7–12 191
Magophonia, the, referred to 194
"Malieu," the Assyrian name for a petty chief 306
Manasseh, king of Judah, mentioned in the Annals of Esarhaddon 4
Manchester, George, Duke of, his "Times of Daniel," p. 126 quoted 199
„ his erroneous identification of Cyrus with Nabopalassar 199
Mandauces, a king of the Medes 247
Manetho, his calculation of the reign of Cambyses 202
„ his account of the Exodus examined 378
Marathon, date of the battle of, B.C. 590.... 223
Marduk (Merodach) chosen as his favourite deity by Hammurabi 56
„ great temple to, built by Hammurabi 56
„ a statue of gold and silver dedicated to, by Samsu-iluna 64

PAGE

Marudukbaliddina king of Babylon, son of Yakin, inscription of 75
„ son of Iriba-Maruduk, an earlier king of this name, date uncertain 76
Marudukbaladsuiqbi king of Babylonia, B.C. 730–710, invaded and defeated by Samsivul king of Assyria 79
Marudukbelusate, foster-brother of Marudukzikiruzkur king of Babylon, his rebellion 77
„ slain by Shalmaneser king of Assyria 77
Maruduknadinahi defeated by Tiglath-Pileser 2
Maruduk-nadin-ahi, king of Babylon, B.C. 1125, twice wars with the kings of Assyria 73
„ defeats Tiglath-Pileser and carries off the images of the Assyrian deities 73
Maruduksapiikzirrat, king of Babylon, B.C. 1100, friendly with Assurbelkala, king of Assyria 74
Marudukzikirizkur king of Babylon (B.C. 753–730), son of Nabubaliddina 77
„ his foster-brother Maraduk-belusate rebels against him 77
„ assisted by Shalmaneser against Marudukbelusate, the rebel 77
„ inscriptions of 77
Masoretic points do not represent the original Hebrew pronunciation 294
Maschuasch, the, invade Egypt.... 374
„ defeated by Menepthah I ... 374
Mashuash, the same as Maschuasch, which see 383
Mathematical science, well known to the Accadians 307
Maximinus Daza, probably the founder of the Mosque of Omar 316
Mayors of cities called Dja in Egypt 181
Mazarta ("a Watch"), Mr. Fox Talbot's explanation of the word 340
Mazzaroth of Job, Mr. Fox Talbot upon 339

PAGE

Mecca, its holy fountain 321
Medeba, the new Moabite stone found there 328
Medes, the, shake off the Persian yoke 223
„ their great military reputation 224
„ a list of the kings of 247
Median and Persian history, dates connected with 200
Medinet Habou, the Harris Papyrus discovered in a tomb at 358
„ the calendar of feasts in the temple of 383
Mediterranean Sea visited by Sargon I 48
Medjdel, el-, the Magdala of the Gospels 152
Megasthenes quoted as giving the dying oracle of Nebuchadnezzar 186
„ a doubtful passage from 246
„ as altered by Annius of Viterbo, the original text appended to Mr. Bosanquet's paper 262
Melekithian, king of Kitium and Idalion, name occurs on the tablet of Dali 125
Melekyaton, or Melekithian king of Kitium and Idalion, "his fourth year" (B.C. 370), importance of 131
"Mélanges Egyptiens," série III, tome 1, p. 139, quoted 179
Melchisedek, the name has the same meaning as that of Sargon 271
Menahem, king of Israel, mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II 4
Menant, M. Joachim, publishes the Semitic Inscription of Hammurabi 59
„ his "Grammaire Assyrienne" described and quoted 283
„ denies the existence of the verb substantive in Assyrian 283
Menepthah I, the son of Ramses II 374
Menepthah I, supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus 8
Menepthah I, invasion of Egypt by the Maschuash, in the reign of 374

PAGE

Menepthah II reigns but a short time 374
Menophres, his era did not fall in the reign of Menepthah I 383
Mésou son of Aah-nekh-tou, swears by the name of Pharaoh 180
„ refuses to work at the Kher 181
Mercy Seat, the, its dimensions.... 338
Mihrab, in Mosque of Omar, not an original portion 315
Milisihu king of Babylon, successor of Naziurudas 65
Misanarakalami, early Turanian king, inscription of 32
Moabite stone, *see* new Moabite stone 328
„ Mr. J. B. Jenkins on the 328
Moab not conquered by Moses 330
„ not to be attacked by Israel 333
Mohar (an Egyptian officer), account of the travels of, on a papyrus 355
Mokatteb (Wady), inscriptions probably not very ancient 9
Moon portents, table of, dating B.C. 1600 344
Mosaic Ark, the, *see* Ark 337
Moses, analogies between his birth and that of Sargon 271
„ did not conquer Moab 330
„ his defeat of Sihon at Jahaz 331
„ not really mentioned as *Mesu* in the Anastasi Papyrus 357
„ altered but did not destroy the Egyptian ritual 381
„ probably the Syrian innovator, but not the Syrian king of the Harris Papyrus 382
Mosque of Omar, perhaps the tomb of King Alexander 315
„ not originally a mosque 315
„ has the form of a Moslem Weli (tomb) 315
„ probably built by Constantine 316
„ not built by Omar 316
Mountains and large rivers apparently unknown to the Semites 308
Mugheir not necessarily "Ur".... 300
Mund Karniku Koond, the fountain of, at Benares 321
Murghâb, the modern name of Pasargadæ, which see 238

PAGE

Mythology, on a fragment of ancient Assyrian mythology, by H. Fox Talbot 271

N.

Nabius, *see* Nabuusabsi, king of Babylon.... 84
Nablūs, the Latin priest, there discovers the house of St. Peter 152
Nabonahid, the same as Nabonidus, which see 209
Nabonassar, as a private name, not uncommon 82
„ Babylonia invaded by Tiglath-Pileser II during his reign 82
„ king of Babylon, B.C. 747-733. No inscriptions stand with this *king's* name 82
Nabonidochus, *see* Nabonidus 188
„ the same as Nabonidus, which see 209
Nabonidus, satrap of Babylon under Cyrus II 188
„ his reign begins in the same year with Cambyses, B.C. 529 226
„ receives a principality in Carmania 246
„ builds the walls of Babylon with burnt brick 212
„ flies to Borsippa, and surrenders to Cyrus II 189
„ cylinder of 34
Nabopalassar, *see* Nabupaluzur 86
Nabuzikuriskun, B.C. 1050, made a treaty with the king of Assyria 75
Nabubaliddina king of Babylon, B.C. 880-853, assists Sadudu king of Suhi against Assurnazirpal 76
„ treaty with Shalmaneser king of Assyria 77
„ makes peace with Assurnazirpal.... 77
Nabukuduruzur king of Babylon, B.C. 1150, invades Assyria three times 72
„ defeats Assurrisilim king of Assyria 73

PAGE

Nabukuduruzur king of Babylon, conquers Cyprus 130
„ makes Babylon the capital of the world 86
„ *see* also Nebuchadnezzar.
Nabupaluzur sent to quell a revolt in Babylonia, assumes the kingdom 85
„ aided by the Medes, destroys Nineveh.... 85
Nabuusabsi king of Babylonia, B.C. 733-731; probably the Nabius of Ptolemy. Son of Silani 84
„ captured by Tiglath-Pileser II, and crucified on the walls of his capital 84
Nachal, means both a river and a valley 333
Naditabyrus, date of his revolt, B.C. 505.... 218
Nahr-el-âamoud, referred to 151
Nahr-el-âmmam, referred to 151
Nahr-rabadich, referred to 151
Nakksh-i-Rustam, inscription of Darius there 191
Nammuradi, *i.e.*, Nimrod; possibly the right reading for Hammurabi 91
Nana, a Babylonian goddess 32
Naramsin, son of Sargon I, continues the conquests of his father 52
„ vase with an inscription of, lost in the Euphrates 52
Nathan, *see* Rabbi Nathan 267
Nativity of Christ, *see* Bosanquet, J. W., on the 93
Nazibugas, an obscure man, raised by the Kassi to the throne of Babylon 69
„ attacked and slain by the king of Assyria 69
Naziurudas king of Babylon, successor of Ulamburyas. No monuments extant 65
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria and Babylon, *see* Nabukudur-uzur 72
„ his first regnal year, B.C. 604, according to Ptolemy 184
„ his first regnal year, B.C. 581, according to Demetrius.... 184
„ a great religious restorer, more than a conqueror 5
„ reigns forty-three years 184

PAGE

Nebuchadnezzar king of Assyria and Babylon, exalts the Babylonian over the Assyrian deities 184
„ dying, foretells the conquest of Babylon 186
„ his death, according to Berosus, B.C. 538 184
„ no historical facts mentioned on his inscriptions 5
Nabuzikuriskun king of Babylon, inscription of 75
Negative confession of the Egyptians, quoted 174
„ its early date and variations 175
„ variations of, on the stèle of Pet-har-pe-khrot 175
„ Porphyry's version, quoted 175
„ forbids conversational oaths 178
„ the 28th and 35th sins of, described 178
Nergal, an Assyrian deity 184
Nergalsharezar, succeeds Evil-merodach 189
„ the date of his accession, B.C. 534 209
„ date of his first year, B.C. 534 235
New Moabite stone found at Medeba 328
„ as described by Mr. H. Lumley 328
„ its inscription confuses the first and third persons 334
„ reasons for rejecting it 329
„ condemned by Mr. Deutsch 329
„ Mr. Shapira's translation of 329
Nimrod, probably the same as Hammurabi king of Babylon 91
Nineveh, governed by the Scythians for twenty-eight years 250
Ninridu, a Babylonian deity, dedication to 32
Ninip, son of Bel, a kind of mythical warrior-king, legend of 89
„ an Assyrian deity 184
Ninipalesir king of Assyria, defeats Vulpalidinna king of Babylon 71
Ninmarki, a Babylonian goddess, dedication to by Dungi 36
Ninmahe, Babylonian deity 55
Nitsots, the Flower Gate, possibly the cave under the Sakrah 317

PAGE

Noah, his history resembles that of Sisuthrus 300
Norris, E., his opinion on the Assyrian verb substantive 284
Ntariusha, the Egyptian form of Darius 260
Nurvul king of Larsa, inscriptions of 45
Nuschu or Nisroch, an Assyrian deity 185

O.

Oaths, prohibition of, among the Egyptians 177
„ "by the life of God," "by the life of the king" 177
Oaths, conversational, forbidden by the Egyptian laws 178
„ prohibited to the Hebrews 178
„ forbidden by the negative confession 178
„ judicial, not forbidden by the Hebrew laws 173
Oath or cursing, the 28th sin in the negative confession 178
„ a malediction "by the father," forbidden by the Turin Papyrus.... 178
„ "by the king," the 35th sin in the negative confession 178
Omar, the Caliph, the first to explore Jerusalem.... 311
„ the Mosque of, described 315
Omens, superstitions among the Babylonians respecting 47
Omri, king of Israel, mentioned in the Annals of Shalmaneser 4
Ormazd, why this deity was especially adored by Darius Hystaspes 255
Ophrah, probably the same town as the Apra of the Papyri 356
Oppert, Dr. Jules, some of his monarchs' names erroneous 28
„ his agreement with Mr. Fox Talbot on the Vision Inscription 348
Orætes, governor of Sardis, assists? Smerdis in his revolt 222
Oracle, *see* Delphic Oracle 237
Orosius, P., cont. Paganos, II, 2, p. 74, quoted 250

PAGE

Osarsiph, a priest of Osiris at Heliopolis 379
„ takes the name of Moses 379
„ incites the lepers to rebel against Amenophis 379
„ invites the aid of 200,000 Shepherds from Jerusalem 379
Ostracon, in Caillaud collection, published in the Zeitschrift, 1867, p. 37 117
„ again referred to 181
Ozier, the Arabic form of Ezra 195

P.

Palestine, invasion of, mentioned in the Annals of Sennacherib 4
„ invaded by Assurbanipal 4
„ a part of the Egyptian government of Xerxes 261
„ Exploration Fund, its objects distinct from the S.B.A. 327
Pantabiblos, the same as Uru, which see 298
Papyrus, the most ancient book in the world, B.C. 3000 176
„ its original authors lived at the time of the building of the Pyramids 176
„ a collection of moral sentences 176
Papyrus Prisse, its Decalogal analogies 177
„ quotations from 176, 177
Papyrus, called a "water reed" in Accadian 343
„ originally grew in the Euphrates 344
„ Sayce, on the use of Papyrus among the Accadians 343
Papyrus Abbott, contains a list of administrative officers of justice in Egypt 181
„ described 181
Papyrus Anastasi, Jewish names in 355
Papyrus Harris, *see* Harris Papyrus.... 358
Papyrus Pleyte and Rossi, in Musee de Turin, referred to 180
„ its date XIXth or XXth Dynasty.... 180

PAGE

Porphyry, his version of the negative confession 175
Parian Chronicle, its chronology of the reign of Darius 203
Porter, Sir Robert Ker, his description of the tomb of Cyrus 238
Pasargadæ, inscription on the tomb of Cyrus at 237
Pasagoras, a functionary of the goddess Aphrodite at Idalium.... 161
Pasioikos son of Stasioikos, a person so named in the Cypriote inscriptions 141
Passover, its true time 3rd April, A.D. 33 96
Patesi (Viceroy) name of the early Babylonian rulers 31
Pausanias, his account of the birth of the god Dionysus 272
Pekah king of Israel, mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II 4
Pentateuch, *see* also Alt and Buchanan.
Pentateuch, *see* Prideaux Pentateuch 263
„ the dotted letters in, ascribed to Ezra 267
Perigal, Henry, his Great Pyramid dimensions 336
"Persian Mule," Cyrus II, so called by the Delphic Oracle 187
Persia, ruled conjointly by Cyrus II and Darius 192
Persia and Media, triple division of the empire of 222
Persian and Median history, dates connected with 200
Petavius, his date for the "first year of Cyrus".... 196
„ his "De Doctrina Temporum," X, c. 15, quoted 196
Peter, Saint, the house of, discovered by the Latin priest of Nablus 152
Pet-har-pe-khrot, his funereal stèle described 175
Phœnician alphabet compiled by the Greeks, who add the vowel letters 10
„ character in use under the Hebrew monarchy 9
Phœnicians, their early colonisation of Cyprus 129

PAGE

Phœnicians came into Palestine from the Persian Gulf 302
Phraortes, the same as Arphaxad, father of Cyaxares 200
Pierides, M., publishes some Cypriote texts 154
Pierotti, Ermete, his work unreliable 317
Pila, Cypriote inscription found in excavating a temple at 117
Pleyte and Rossi, the Papyrus of, described 180
Pleyte, M., differs from M. Chabas in the translation of the Papyrus Pleyte 182
Pleiades, said to have originated the Archiac year 338
Pliny mentions the papyrus as growing in the Euphrates 344
Polybius, historian, referred to for reign of Cyrus 196
Polyhistor, Alexander, the source of the questionable dates given by the Canon of Ptolemy.... 253
Pools of Solomon, supply the Haram area 319
Poseidon, the fountain of, at Athens 321
Prideaux Pentateuch, its few defects 263
„ written in various hands from tenth to fifteenth centuries 263
„ of an oriental Rabbinical type 263
„ peculiarities of arrangement 264
„ its majuscular and minuscular letters 265
„ the dotted letters in 267
„ its lectional marks.... 264, 269
„ compared with the Alt Pentateuch 268
„ compared with the Buchanan Pentateuch 268
„ has suffered from fire 270
„ has been resewn in modern times 270
„ its great importance 270
Priests, Egyptian, forbidden to eat fish 357
Prisse d'Avennes, his famous papyrus quoted 176
Psychostasis, the, referred to 175
Pteria, battle of, between Cyrus II and Crœsus king of Lydia 187

PAGE

Ptolemy Lagus, called satrap of Egypt 22
„ defeats Demetrius (Poliorcetes?) at Palai Gaza 22
„ conquers Cyrus 130
Ptolemy, the astronomer, describes Bethsayda as being in Galilee 150
„ his Canon astronomical, not historical 253
„ gives B.C. 604 as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar 184
„ his date for the first year of Cyrus 538 197
Ptolemy Philopater begins to reign B.C. 222 209
Ptolemy Soter restores to Egypt the images of the gods 21
„ conquers Stasioikos the last king of Marium 135
Pyramid, *see* Great Pyramid 335
Pythagoras, a person so named mentioned on the bronze tablet of Dali 135

Q.

Qabah, "to say," an Assyrian verb, explained by Mr. Cull 288
Quarterly Review, critique on its Article on the Nativity of our Lord 93
Quirinius, the exact date of his governorship 97
„ twice governor of Syria 97

R.

Rabbi Aquiba, his note on Lev. xix, 15, quoted 266
Rabbi Moses Kunitzer, referred to 267
Rabbi Nathan, his "Aboth," referred to 267
Rabbi Schiller, *see* Schiller
Szinessy.... 266
Rabbi Simon Ben Azzai, some observations by, quoted 266
Rainaldus, de Libris Apocryphis I, 767, quoted 248
Ramses III, political condition of Egypt prior to reign of.... 355
„ the son of Seti nekht 362

PAGE

Ramses the son of Seti nekht and Ti mer Ast 373, 374
„ erects a temple to Amon Ra in the land of Djaha 356
„ part of his history contained in the Harris Papyrus 358
„ stèle of, in the Museum of Bulaq 373
Ramses IV, last monarch under whom the mines of the Sarabit-el-Khadim were worked 8
Ramses, *see* Ramses III 355
Rawlinson, Prof. Geo., thinks that there is trace of an Aryan element in Chaldea 122
Recovery of Jerusalem, Intro. p. xvi, quoted 321
Red Sea, called the Sea of Rushes (*i.e.* papyri) 278
Rezin king of Damascus, mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II 4
"Reise Morgenland," II, 179, quoted 336
Religious Revolution in Egypt, *see* Egypt 361
Reports respecting the workmen at the Kher, described 180
Reseph or Resmical, a Cypriote divinity 155
Reshep Mikal, a Cypriote deity; dedication of a statue by Baalram to 125
Resmical, *see* Reseph, a Cypriote divinity 155
Revolt of Araeus, date of 218
„ B.C. 498 235
„ Belshazzar, date of, B C. 494 235
„ Naditabyrus, date of, B.C. 504 218
„ Smerdis the Magian 222
Revolution, religious revolution in Egypt before the time of Ramses III 361
"Revue Archéologique," vol. xv, quoted 176
Rimgaru, early Babylonian king 44
Rimsin, last king of Larsa, conquers Karrak 53
„ makes a channel from the Tigris to the Sea 55
„ defeated by Hammurabi 55
„ inscriptions of 53
Ritual of the dead, first partly translated by Champollion 175

PAGE

Rivers, large rivers apparently unknown to the Semites 308
Rome, fall of the Tarquinian race at, B.C. 512 250
Romulus, analogies between his birth and that of Sargon I 272
Rotenno captured in Megiddo by Thothmes III 356
Röth, Prof. Von, considers the tablet of Dali to be a proclamation of Amasis ... 123
„ his erroneous hypothesis on the Semitic origin of the Cypriote language 154
„ his "Proklamation des Amasis" referred to as an erroneous translation of a Cypriote text 154, 160
„ the work cost £800, published at the expense of the Duc de Luynes 160
Routh, his "Reliquiæ Sacræ," II, 271, quoted 196
Riisvul, the last king of Apirak 39

S.

Saammuramat, wife of Vulnarari king of Assyria, B.C. 800, inscription of 81
Sabartu, kingdom of, conquered by Sargon I 49
Sabbath of seven days, known to the Assyrians 301
Sad, the Assyrian name for a ruler 350
Sadastra, a Cypriote king, coin of, described 134
Sadudu, king of Suhi, assisted against Assurbanipal by Nabubaliddina king of Babylon 76
„ defeated by Assurnazirpal 76
Sardis and Asia Minor conquered by Cyrus II, B.C. 534 187
Saga Saltias, ancient Babylonian monarch, restores the temples of Anunit and Samas 34
Sagastiyas, inscriptions of 66
Sakrah, at Jerusalem, discovered by Omar covered with dung 311

PAGE

Sala, an Assyrian deity, his statue carried off by Maruduknadinahi king of Babylon 73
Salamion, bas-relief of an Archer found there 117
Salamis, coins falsely ascribed to 124
Sale tablets (Babylonian) commence from the reign of Sinidinna 45
Samaria conquered by Sargon I.... 4
Samas, Babylonian name of the Sun deity 34
„ his temple at Pit-parra rebuilt by Burnaburyas II 68
Samas or Shamas, his temple at Sippara rebuilt by Sagasaltiyas 66
Samsuiluna king of Babylon, possibly another name for Hammurabi 62
„ excavates a canal 63
„ makes golden figures of cherubims for the temple of Merodach 63
„ enwalls the city of Sargina 63
„ dedicates a throne to the deity Ur 64
„ dedicates a statue of gold and and silver to Marduk 64
„ his name only found on private tablets 62
„ inscriptions of 63
Samsivul king of Assyria, invades Babylonia and defeats Marudukbaladiqbi 79
San, an Assyrian deity 184
Sanapanu, the capital of Babylonia under Nabuusabsi.... 84
Sanapani destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser II 84
Sapē, the capital of Babylonia under Kinziru, besieged by Tiglath-Pileser II ... 85
Sarabut El Khadem, mines worked from the XIIth to the XXth dynasties 8
Saracus king of Babylon, burns himself to death .. . 249
Sardanapalus, *see* Assurbanipal.
„ burns himself to death 247
Sardis, burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, B.C. 603 190
Sargon, the name means "king of justice" 271

PAGE

Sargon, the same meaning as Melchiszedek 271
Sargon I, his mythical birth .. 46
„ analogy between his birth and that of Romulus 272
„ analogy between his birth and that of Cyrus 272
„ analogy between his birth and that of the god Dionysus 272
„ really of illegitimate birth 272
„ saved by Akki the fisherman (or drawer of water) 273
„ made king of Assyria (Agane) 273
„ exposed on the Euphrates in an ark of bulrushes 273
„ founds the new capital of Babylonia, Agane 48
„ founds the city of Dursargina 47
„ invades Elam 47
„ invades and conquers Syria 48
„ penetrates to the Sea of the Setting Sun 48
„ subdues Kazalla 48
„ mutilates the bodies of the enemies 48
„ besieged by his foes in Agane, defeats them 48
„ conquers the kingdom of Sabartu 49
„ conquers Cyprus 129
„ receives ambassadors from seven rulers of Cyprus 129
„ writes works on astrology and omens 47
„ a series of omens deduced for 49
„ monolith of, found in Cyprus 129
„ worshipped as an hero at Agani 271
„ his annals record the conquest of Samaria and Ashdod 4
„ his history obscured by fable 271
„ no original inscription known of his period 46
Sargina, *see* Sargon I.
„ means "king of justice" 271
Shari or Suri, the papyrus or bulrush 278
Sarus an Assyrian measure ....
Sosarmon, a king of the Medes.... 247
Sagasaltiyas king of Babylon, rebuilds the temples of Samas and Anunit at Sippara 66

PAGE

Sati, Land of 356
Saulcy, M. le Chevalier de, first announces the true site of Capharnaum, in the "Revue Archéologique" 145
Lettre sur le site de Capharnaum, de Khorazyn, et de Bethsayda (Julias) 145
„ considers the text of Ezra corrupted 199
„ Etude Chronologique des livres d'Esdras et de Néhemie, p. 77, quoted.... 199
Sayce, Rev. A. H., on the origin of Semitic civilisation 294
„ on the use of Papyrus among the Accadians 343
Schubert, his Egyptian lunar cycle 336
Scythians rule twenty-eight years in Nineveh 250
Schiller, Szinessy, Dr., his report on the Prideaux Pentateuch 263
„ his Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. at Cambridge, referred to 265
Schlick, Chevalier, his discovery of an aqueduct in the Haram 319
"Sea of the Setting Sun," *see* Mediterranean 48
Sealed Fountain, *see* Bahr-el-Khebeer.... 318
Seer, an Assyrian, his vision of the goddess Ishtar 347
Siloam el Fokani, two Phœnician? inscriptions discovered in a sacellum by M. Clermont Ganneau 9
Semiramis, *see* Saamuramat 81
Semites conquered the Babylonian Turanians 29
„ the late occupation of Palestine 304
„ had no knowledge of mountains or large rivers 308
„ yet acquainted with ships.... 309
Semitic civilisation, origin of, by Rev. A. H. Sayce 294
Semitic languages, the noun generally precedes the verb 295
„ the roots generally triliteral 295
„ need of comparing them with the sub-Semitic tongues 309
„ their late linguistic position 294

PAGE

Semitic languages, their disadvantages as compared with the Romance dialects 295, 309
„ roots not proved to be ultimately biliteral 296
Semitic mythos not of Aryan origin 302
Semitic traditions generally Turanian 300
Semitic peoples essentially nomadic 302
Senephru or Sephuris, a Pharaoh of the IIIrd Dynasty, first opens the mines of the Wady Magarah.... 8
Senkereh, the Larancha of Berosus 298
„ inscription found there of Cyrus son of Cambyses.... 220
Sennacherib king of Assyria, extract from his genealogy relating to Tugultininip king of Assyria.... 71
„ his great water-drawing machine described 280
„ his annals record his expedition against Jerusalem, and the tribute of Hezekiah 4
Sepher Torah, *see* Prideaux Pentateuch 263
Sepulchre, *see* Holy Sepulchre 315
Setinekht, the father of Ramses III 362
„ and Ramses III suppress the religious revolution in Egypt 364
„ appropriates the tomb of King Sipthah 376
Set, or Sutekh, the principal divinity of the Hykshos 381
Seti I, builds a temple at Gournah 376
Seti II, *see* Menepthah II 374
Serapéum, tablets there, with names of Darius and Cambyses 204
Seventh days, called "sulum" or "rest," by the Assyrians 301
Seventy years of Daniel, their place 235
Shahnameh calls Cyrus I Kai-Khosru 231
Shalmaneser king of Assyria makes a treaty with Nabubaliddina 77

PAGE

Shalmaneser slays Marudukbelusate, a Babylonian rebel 77
„ annals of his reign mention Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Benhadad, and Hazael 4
Shapira, Mr., his translation of the new Moabite stone 328
Shardana, a people engaged in military service by the Pharaohs 356
Sharpe, Daniel, thinks the Lycian more agrees with the Zend language 121
„ his hypothesis with regard to the Lycian language 121
Sharpe, Samuel, defrays the expense of the "History of Babylonia" 29
Shenti, the Egyptian name for the sin of simple cursing or incantation 178
Ships known to the Accadians 309
Shishak, his name discovered by Champollion in the temple of Karrak 2
Short, his "History of Persia," p. 411, referred to 231
Shusan, the same as Susa, which see 239
Sibir king of Babylon, B.C. 1000? uncertain date, destroys the country of Adila 76
Sidon, sarcophagus of Asmunassar discovered at 7
Sihon king of the Ammonites, his defeat at Jahaz 331
Silver, called "Babar" by the Assyrians 306
Simmassihu king of Babylon, successor of Kurigalzu, tablet dated in his reign 65
Simpson, William, on the archæology of Jerusalem 310
Simtissilhak king of Urukh? 42
Sin, the Babylonian moon god 39
Sinai, explorations there, by E. H. Palmer and others 7
Singasit, or Sinsada, king of Urukh (Warka), son of Belat sunat, inscriptions of 41
Sinidinna king of Sumir and Akkad, inscriptions of 44
„ the dated sale tablets commence in his reign 45
Sinkara, *see* also Senkereh 343

PAGE

Sipthah, or Menepthah Siptah, an intruding Egyptian king 377
„ born at Hacheb 377
„ possibly the Syrian chief of the Harris Papyrus 377
„ his tomb appropriated by Seti nekht 377
„ his titles effaced 377
Sisuthrus, meaning of his name 301
see Xisuthrus.
„ his history analogous to that of Noah.... 300
„ his ark rests on Gordyæan mountains (cf. T. Onkelos) 301
Sit-ti-la-ud-da, a Babylonian deity, dedication to, by Dungi 36
Sixtus Senensis, Pope, believed Darius and Cyrus to be contemporary 248
Slavery in Babylonia, translations of Babylonian slave tablets 91
Smerdis, *see* Cambyses.
„ murdered by his brother Cambyses 222
„ the Magian, his revolt 222
Smith, George, publishes the "Annals of Assurbanipal" 14
„ "Early History of Babylonia" 28
„ on the reading of the Cypriote inscriptions 129
„ independently discovers the Cypriote alphabet 155
„ translation of a Babylonian contract tablet 205
„ his translations of the Babylonian contract tablets referred to 210
„ considers Sargon to have been a real monarch 271
Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," in error as to the kings under whom Daniel served 199
Smyth, Prof. Piazzi, his diameter of the Earth 335
„ his dimensions of the Great Pyramid Coffer 336
Soli Inscription, Cypriote characters from (note) 127
Solomon, the Pools of, referred to 319
Solymites, *see* Hykshos 379
"Sons of Elohim," referred to.... 301
Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, attempts to mislead the search of Omar 311

PAGE

Sophronius, his account of the Kubbet-es-Sakrah 313
Soul, the soul's address to the Sun, in Porphyry, quoted 175
St. Luke, his account of the Nativity in unison with Josephus 94
St. Stephen's Gate, its original site 314
Stanley, Dean, quoted 321
Stasiagoras, a Cypriote king, mentioned on the bronze tablet of Dali 135
Stasioikos conquered by Ptolemy Soter 135
„ king of Marium, coin of, described 135
Stasios, or Stasioikos, a person mentioned in the Cypriote inscriptions 157
Statues of the Gods, used to protect the gates of Assyrian temples 342
Stèle of Pet-har-pe-khrot quoted 175
Stone of the five loaves at Ayn-el-Barideh, referred to 152
Su, the Accadian name of the fourth month 13
Sulpicius Severus, his date for the "first years of Cyrus" 196
Sulum, the Assyrian name for Sabbath.... 301
Sun, the, address of the soul to, quoted 175
Susa, Books of the Chronicles kept at 239
Sutekh, the same as Set, which see 381
Syllabary, *see* Cypriote Syllabary 133
Syncellus, his Ecclesiastical and Astronomical Canon referred to 197
"Synchronous History of Babylonia and Assyria," extracts from 67
Syria conquered by Kudur-Mabuk 42
„ invaded and conquered by Sargon 48
„ conquered by Vulnarari 4
„ list of the Roman Governors of, from B.C. 9 to A.D. 11 98
Syrian chief, a, causes a religious revolution in Egypt 370
Syrians conquer the east of Egypt 375
„ the Egyptian gods degraded by the 370

T.

PAGE

Tabari, his statement in reference to Babylonian affairs 250
Tabernacle, did its measures connect with those of the Great Pyramid 337
Table of Asiatic chronology 232–3
„ of Babylonian contract tablets 213
„ of Eclipses, B.C. 5 to 1 99
„ of witnesses to Babylonian contract tablets.... 220
„ *see* Babylonian contract tablets 210
Tablets, Assyrian magical tablets referred to 343
„ of Asiatic chronology 232–3
„ triangular tablets found at Sinkara.... 343
Tacitus refers to the fountains at Jerusalem 322
Tadi, the Gate, referred to 317
Taggin, their place in the Prideaux Pentateuch 268
Talbot, H. Fox, on an Assyrian eclipse 13
„ on the religious belief of the Assyrians 106
„ on a fragment of ancient Assyrian mythology 271
„ on the Mazzaroth of Job 329
„ on a prayer and a vision 346
Tamera, a name for the land of Egypt 359
Tany-oxarces receives half the kingdom of Cyrus I 186
Tarquinian kings defeated about the time of the fall of Babylon.... 250
Torah, *see* Prideaux Pentateuch 263
Tattam and Young, their Egyptian Grammar referred to 204
Tattam, Dr., his Coptic Dictionary quoted 278
Tauser, or Thuoris, the wife of Menepthah Sipthah 375
Tel, means, according to Captain Wilson, a mound of debris 149
Tel-houm, the assumed site of Capharnaum, incorrect 148
Temples, *see* the names of the respective deities to whom they were erected.
Temple (Second) at Jerusalem ordered to be rebuilt by Cyrus II 191

PAGE

Temple, its re-erection hindered by Darius 192
„ finished, B.C. 486 234
„ the two principal theories as to the site 312
„ its water supply abundant 318
Teucer, the founder of the city of Idalium 161
Teukros king of Paphos, coin of, described 135
Thabarieh, present name of Tiberias, which see 146
„ founded by Herod Antipas 152
Thales, eclipse of, B.C. 585, referred to 183
Thallus and Castor, historians, referred to for reign of Cyrus 196
Thalwig, *see* Wady Rabadieh 152
Thebes, the cemetery and funereal temples of, referred to 180
Theophrastus, his account of the papyrus referred to 278
Thothmes III captures the Rotenno at Megiddo 356
Thomson, Dr., places Bethsayda at Abouzané 150
Thrupp, his so-called "Upper Watercourse at Gihon".... 319
Thuoris, the same as Queen Tauser, which see 376
Tiberias, Lake of, *see* Gennesareth 145
Tiberius, accession to the throne of Rome, 19th August, A.D. 14 96
Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria, defeated by Maruduknadinahi king of Assyria 73
„ defeats Maruduknadinahi 73
Tiglath-Pileser II, invades Babylonia, builds the palace of Kar-assur 82
„ captures and crucifies Nabusabsi king of Babylon, B.C. 731 84
„ formally annexes Babylonia to Assyria 85
„ cylinder translated and published by the R.S.L. 3
„ his annals mention Azariah, Menahem, Pekah, Hoshea, and Rezin 4
Tigris, the same as Hiddekhel 300
Tirhakhah (Tik-rak) defeated by Assurbanipal 4

PAGE

Tiumman, king of Elam, invades Babylonia 14
„ his impiety 347
„ defeated and slain by Assurbanipal 349
„ his portrait in the British Museum.... 349
Tii-mer-ast, the mother of Ramses III 375
Tomyris, queen of the Scythians, the expedition of Cyrus I against 202
Tower to the deity Zamama, which reached unto heaven, built by Hammurabi 58
Translation from an hieratic text in the British Museum 179
Tree of Life, its analogue in Assyrian mythology 301
Triangular tablets found at Sinkara 343
Tribute in Babylonia, its nature 228
Tristram, Rev. H. B., discovers the Coracinus in the Ayn-el-Medaonarah 149
Tugultininip king of Assyria, son of Salimanusur king of Assyria 71
„ conquers Babylonia and unites the two kingdoms 70
Turanians invented the Cuneiform mode of writing 29
„ the inventors of the Assyrian Alphabet 298
Turin Museum, *see* Papyrus Pleyte 180
Tuthmes, the same as Thothmes, which see 356

U.

Uaruu, the highest military and civil officer in Egypt, so called 368
Uat (goddess), supposed to be the same as the goddess Buto 20
Ulamburyas king of Babylon, the successor of Simmasihu; no monuments extant 65
Ur, the deity, a throne dedicated to, by Samsuiluna 64
"Ur of the Casdim," not necessariiy Mugheir 300

PAGE

Urmitu, a Babylonian deity 57
Urn, the Pantabiblos of Berosus 298
Urukh king of Babylonia, a great builder of temples 34
„ inscriptions of 35
Uwakhshatarah, the real name of Cyaxares *i.e.* Ahasuerus.... 186

V.

Valhalla, notice of the German Valhalla.... 113
Va anna, *see* Bel-samsu 32
Vision of an Assyrian seer 247
Vitruvius, his account of the Cochlea, a machine to draw water 277
Vogüé, Comte de, his opinion on the direction of the Cypriote characters 122
„ publishes Cypriote inscriptions 154
Vowels first introduced by the Greeks 10
Vul, an Assyrian deity; his statue carried off by Maruduk-nadinahi king of Babylon 73
Vulnarari conquers Samaria, Syria, Edom, and Damascus 4
Vulnarari III king of Assyria, extract from his chronology referring to Tugultininip king of Assyria 71
„ five times invades Babylonia 81
Vulpalidinna builds a tower to the goddess Zamama 72
„ king of Babylon, attacks the king of Assyria and is defeated by him 71
„ inscriptions of 72

W.

Wady Rabadieh, or Thalwig, referred to 152
War of the gods against the Moon, Assyrian tradition of 301
Warka, Babylonian contract tablets discovered there 210
„ importance of the tablets from 227

PAGE

Warka, names of the tax collectors at 228
Warren, Capt., has described thirty-four excavations under the Haram 317
„ his views on the antiquity of the Haram wall 326
Water, its use in Scripture 322
Weighing of the soul in Hades, referred to 175
Weli (Tomb), the Mosque of Omar probably a Weli 315
Wilson, Capt. C. W., his definition of the word τὰ ὄρια as used by Josephus 147
„ his lecture on the Sea of Galilee referred to 145
„ his views on the words "Tel" and "Kefr" 149
„ places Bethsayda at Abouzané 150

X.

Xenophon, his error with regard to Cyrus I and II 245
„ his character of Cyrus II 195
„ has preserved an important speech of Cambyses 243
Xerxes the son of Hadassah or Esther 258
„ the name of Artaxerxes before he assumed the throne 193
„ governs Egypt for his father when twenty years old 260
„ engaged with Darius in the conquest of Babylon 225
„ defeated, and expelled from the Delta by Khabash 23
„ inscriptions of, at El Hamamat 260
„ called an usurper on the tablet of Alexander Aigos 11
Xisuthrus, *see* Sisuthrus. 301

Y.

Yamutbul, ancient Babylonian name of Elam 42
Year, the Archaic; Mr. Halliburton's theory upon 338
„ *see* Egyptian Year.... 383

Z.

	PAGE
Zabu-u, ancient Babylonian monarch, mentioned on cylinder of Nabonidus	34
Zabar, the Assyrian name for copper or bronze	306
Zabdanu, brother of Nabubaliddina king of Babylon, his army captured by Assurnazirpal	77
Zamama, a Babylonian deity	58
„ a tower built to her by Vulpalidinna king of Babylon....	72
Zamamazikuridinna king of Babylon, B.C. 1200, conquered by Assur-dan king of Assyria	72
Zechariah and Haggai, prophets, help to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem	258
Zerdusht, *see* Zoroaster....	195
Zeitschrift, Berlin, 1867, ref. to	181
Zem-Zem, the, referred to	321
Zib, *see* Akhzib, the true name of Ecdippa....	149
Ziggurat, *see* Tower	58
Zopyrus, his stratagem	229
Zoroaster, writes the Books of the Magi in the reign of Darius Hystaspes	195
Zotemberg, Dr., his translation of Tabari's History, quoted	251
Zumpt, Dr., notice of his Essay "Commentatio de Syriâ Romanorum"	93
„ his discovery that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria	97
Zursin king of Ur, deified after death	40
„ inscriptions of	40

LIST OF BIBLICAL TEXTS,

Quoted or Referred to.

				PAGE
Genesis	i,	1,	referred to	265
„	ii,	13-14	„	300
„	v,	1	„	266
„	vi,	3–4	„	301
„	viii,	4	„	299
„	ix,	13,	quoted	353
„	xiv,	1,	referred to	298
„	xiv,	1	„	305
„	xxx,	42	„	266
„	xxxiv,	31	„	265
Exodus	ii,	3,	referred to	278
„	xi,	8	„	266
„	xii,	38	„ ...	267
„	xv,	15	„	266
„	xx,	12,	quoted	266
„	xx,	7	„	177
„	xxxiv,	7,	referred to	265
„	xxxiv,	11	„	264
„	xxxiv,	14	„ ...	265
„	xxxvii,	1	„	337
„	xxxviii,	1	„	337
Leviticus	vi,	2	„	266
„	x,	16	„	267
„	xi,	30	„	265
„	xvi,	8	„	264
„	xix,	12,	quoted	177
„	xix,	18	„	266
„	xxii,	28,	quoted	266
Numb.	xiii,	30	„	265
„	xxi,	13–15	referred to	329
„	xxi,	21–30	„	329
„	xxi,	23	„	332
„	xxi,	28,	quoted	333
„	xxiv,	5,	referred to ...	264
Deut.	ii,	9	„ 330,	333
„	ii,	29	„	333
„	v,	16	„	266
„	vi,	4,	referred to	265
„	ix,	24	„	267
„	xi,	2	„	329
„	xvi,	18	„	264
„	xviii,	13	„	265
„	xxi,	13–15	„	332
„	xxii,	6–7	„	266
„	xxiii,	24	....	265

				PAGE
Deut.	xxix,	26,	quoted	267
„	xxix,	27–28	„	265
„	xxxii,	4	„	265
„	xxxii,	18	„	266
„	xxxiii,	29	„	265
Joshua	ix,	21	„	278
„	xiii,	9,	referred to	329
2 Sam.	xxiv,	5	„	333
2 Kings	xxiv,	12,	quoted	208
„	xxv,	8	„	208
2 Chr.	xxxii,	30,	quoted	320
Ezra	i,	2	„ 188,	196
„	iv,	1–5	„	192
„	iv,	6	„	258
„	iv,	13–22	„	193
„	iv,	16	„	191
„	iv,	18–20	„	228
„	iv,	24	„	192
„	v,	13	„ 189,	196
„	vi,	2,	referred to	204
„	vi,	7,	quoted	258
„	vi,	10–14	„	193
„	vi,	14-15	„ 195,	258
„	vi,	22	„	194
„	vi,	22	„	254
Esther	i,	2–3	referred to	232
„	i,	3–14	quoted	223
„	iii,	8	„	194
„	vi,	1	„	239
Job	xxxv,	11	„	266
„	xxxviii,	32–33	„	339
Psalms	xix,	7–8	quoted	270
„	cxli,	3	„	340
Isaiah	xiv,	12,	quoted	299
„	xlv,	6–7, 12	„	191
„	xxi,	5	„	340
„	xliv,	23, to xlv, 1	....	188
Jerem.	xv,	9,	quoted	285
„	xxxix,	3	„	209
„	l,	2	„	190
„	lii,	30	„ 208,	233
„	lii,	31,	quoted	209
Ezek.	xlvii,	1,	quoted	321
Daniel	ii,	24,	referred to	289
„	iv,	34,	quoted	185

				PAGE
Daniel	v,	7	quoted	289
„	v,	30–31	„	219
„	v,	31	„ 192, 193, 198, 201,	235
„	v,	31,	Septuagint version of, quoted	193
„	vi,	1,	quoted	258
„	vi,	25–26	„ 184,	259
„	viii,	3	„	254
„	viii,	8	„	224
„	ix,	1	„ 192,	193
„	ix,	1,	quoted	201
„	ix,	1–2	„	209
„	x,	1,	referred to	248
Daniel	x,	20,	quoted	188
„	x,	1–13–20,	quoted	192
„	xi,	1,	quoted	192
Amos	vii,	7,	referred to	336
Zechariah	i,	12	„ 198,	223
Matthew	v,	33	„	178
„	xxv,	35	„	175
Ephes.	vi,	2	„	266
Rev.	xxii,	4	„	322
Eccles.	iii,	6,	quoted	177
„	xxiii,	9	„	178
„	xlviii,	17	„	320
Esdras	v,	24	„	190
Tobit	xiv,	15	„	200

LIST OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS,

Quoted or Referred to.

	PAGE
Arrian, VI, 19, quoted	237
Ctesias, p. 49 quoted	234
Herodotus, Lib. I, cap. 199, ref. to	377
„ I, 111, quoted	236
„ I, 130, referred to	233
„ I, 177, quoted	238
„ I, 188 „	226
„ III, 65, referred to	220
„ III, 65 „	223
„ III, 73 „	223
„ III, 104 „	223
„ III, 109, quoted	224
„ III, 120, referred to	222
„ III, 126 „	220
„ III, 126, quoted	223
„ III, 150 „	212
„ III, 150, referred to	220
„ III, 150, quoted	222
„ III, 150 „	236
„ III, 159, referred to	229
„ VI, 9 „	223
„ VI, 22–25 „ 219,	224
„ VI, 43, quoted	258
„ VI, 112, referred to	224
„ VII, 1–2	229
„ VII, 8–9, referred to	302
Josephus, Ant. X, XI, 1–2, quoted	246
„ Contra Apion, I, 20, referred to	212
Josephus, Contra Apion, I, 26	378
„ I, 32, 35	379
Justin, I, 8, quoted	237
„ XVIII, 3–2	302
Mishnah Berachoth, V, 3, referred to	266
Pliny, V, 14, referred to	302
„ VI, 35, quoted	302
„ XIII, 22, quoted	344
Ritual, cap. cxxv, quoted	175
Ritual, cap. cxxv, 20, 27, quoted	178
Solinus, XXXIV, 1, referred to	302
Strabo I, 2, 35, referred to	302
„ XVI, 3, 4, „	302
Talmud, Megillah, sec. I, referred to	264
„ Jerusalem, Peah, sec. I, referred to	266
„ (Babyl), Yoma 45^{b}, referred to	267
„ (Babylon), Baba bathra, referred to	264
„ Jerusalmi Nedarim, sec. IX, quoted	266
Xenophon Cyropædia, I, 2, quoted	241
„ IV, 1–8, quoted	241
„ VIII, VII, 1, quoted	225
„ VIII, quoted	241
„ VIII, V, 26, quoted	244
„ VII, V, 33 „	243

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INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER.

Cancel the first List of Members at pp. 153–6.

ERRATA.

PAGE	
190.	*For* "of Aristagoras and burning of Sardis," *read* "Aristagoras in B.C. 501, and the burning of Sardis, &c., in 499, five years."
201.	*For* "death of Phraortes, B.C. 513," *read* 614.
218.	*For* "Aracus revolts, B.C. 501," *read* 498.

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